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SHERWEN'S ROWLEIAN CONTROVERSY.

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INTRODUCTION

TO AN

EXAMINATION

OF

SOME PART OF THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE,

RESPECTING THE

ANTIQUITY AND AUTHENTICITY

OF

CERTAIN PUBLICATIONS,

SAID TO HAVE BEEN FOUND IN MANUSCRIPTS,

AT BRISTOL,

WRITTEN BY A LEARNED PRIEST AND OTHERS,

IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY;

BUT GENERALLY CONSIDERED AS THE SUPPOSITITIOUS

PRODUCTIONS OF AN INGENIOUS YOUTH

OF THE PRESENT AGE.

BY JOHN SHERWEN, M. D.

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"Aliorum σφαλματα vidimus et correximus: alius nostra videbit et emendabit. Quod æquo animo passuri sumus, modo id cum modestia fiat atque amore veritatis non obtrectandi studio."

"The final decision of the question must depend on the internal evidence."

TYRWHITT.

BATH:

PRINTED BY MEYLER AND SON, ADJOINING THE GREAT PUMP-ROOM;

FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME, LONDON.

1809.

THE profits arising from this Essay were originally intended to have been given to the sister of the late Thomas Chatterton; but the benefit she derived from the publication of his Miscellanies, and her subsequent death, determined the author to adopt the more numerous and more necessitous class of his relatives and representatives; viz. the sons and daughters of literary indigence; who to the honour, the exclusive honour of Great Britain, find protection in a society established for their peculiar support.

To that benevolent Society therefore, this Essay, together with the profits accruing from its publication, are, with all due respect and esteem,

Dedicated,

by the

AUTHOR.

ERRATA.

Page 16, note, line 29, for occusit, read occurs it.
—— 19, line 17, for slipp it, read slippit.
—— 47, for *the* confirmations, read confirmations.
—— 63, — 10, for cosre, read corse.
—— 67, — 4, for orphœn, read orphœan.
—— 123 — 16, for Ango, read Anglo.

*** From a disappointment in procuring proper types, the letters þ ȳ and the Greek δ have been occasionally substituted for the Anglo-Saxon diphthongs dh and th.

In consequence of some remarks on this Work by an able Critic, in the Monthly Review for January, 1810, the Reader is requested to make the following corrections:—

Preface, p. 12, for "I dare not presume," read *I dare not yet presume.*
Ibid, after "militate strongly," add *(but not irresistibly)*
And at p. 136, for "The Anachronisms," read *The alleged Anachronisms.*

PREFACE.

A SPLENDID tribute has lately been paid by an elegant writer to the memory and literary merits of the late Mr. Thomas Chatterton. Whether this circumstance will or will not have a tendency to reduce the inconsiderable number of those who still believe in the authenticity of the Poems attributed to Rowley, the advocates of the old Bard will now probably be convinced that they have been generally too eager in depreciating, while their opponents have been equally earnest in over-rating, the abilities of that unfortunate youth. But the latter certainly have not been fully sensible that short as the young man's career was, the energies of his mind were gradual and progressive; for when they consider him as having been equal to the creation of that elegant, complicated, innocent and pleasing fabrication, which much acquirement as well as various talent united to raise, that opi-

nion must have been formed upon the display of genius and information, which at a riper and later hour was exhibited in some of his unquestionable compositions; and in this view of the subject they seem altogether to have forgotten or to have overlooked the consideration of the fact, that a large proportion of these Poems was actually in the hands of several of his intimate friends long before this period, and prior to the year 1768. I refer to this particular point of time because then it was that this great and wonderful Genius, this premature Phenomenon, under the influence of a passion, which generally animates the most unfeeling, and inspires every one with some portion of the spirit and phrenzy of poetry, opened his address to his mistress in these ungrammatical and hobbling numbers.

"Accept, fair Nymph, this token of my love,
Nor look disdainful on the prostrate Swain;
By every sacred oath I'll constant prove,
And act as worthy *for* to wear your chain."†

† See the new edition of Chatterton's Works, vol. 1, p. 90, lines addressed to the beauteous Miss Hoyland. See also a well-written letter addressed toDr. Milles, by Mr. Thistlethwaite, one of his school-fellows. "Going down Horse-street, near the school, one day, during the summer of 1764,

Can the advocates for the authenticity of the Poems believe the author of the above stanza to have been at *the same time* (nay long, viz. three or four years before) author of the song to Ella, or the Chorus to Godwin, or the Minstrel's Songs, or even a single page of the correct and polished and frequently sublime compositions attributed to Rowley? Will they not be apt to retort the charge of credulity, and still lend a willing ear to every argument which may yet be offered on the unpopular side of the question? Doubtless they will; and if they have yet many new and plausible arguments to bring forward,

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I accidentally met with Chatterton. Entering into conversation with him, he informed me that he was in possession of certain old MSS which had been deposited in a chest in Redcliffe church; and that he had lent some or one of them to Phillips. Within a day or two after this, I saw Phillips, and repeated to him the information I had received from Chatterton. Phillips produced a MS. on parchment or vellum, which *I am confident* was Ellenoure and Juga, a kind of pastoral Eclogue, afterwards published in the Town and Country Magazine, for May 1769, The parchment or vellum appeared to have been closely pared round the margin, for what purpose, or by what accident, I know not; but the words were evidently entire and unmutilated. As the writing was yellow and pale, manifestly (as I conceive) occasioned by age, and consequently difficult to decypher. P. had with his pen traced and gone over several of the lines (which as far as my recollection serves, were written in the manner of prose, and without any regard to punctuation) and by that means laboured to attain the object of his pursuit, an investigation of their meaning. I endeavoured to assist him; but from an almost total ignorance of the characters, manners, language, and orthography of the age in which the lines were written, all our efforts were unprofitably exerted; and although we arrived at an explanation of, and connected many of the words, still the sense was notoriously deficient." Dr. Milles' edit. of Rowley's Poems. p. 455.

it is presumed that their opponents will receive them at least with complacency, in as much as every argument which tends to establish the authenticity of the Poems, if it ultimately fail, must, in proportion to its operation, be considered as an additional proof of the splendid talents, the art and ingenuity of the author of Ella.

Perhaps it is yet possible to write upon this inexhaustible subject without either disgusting the reader or putting the reviewer out of humour. The author even dares to hope that whatever may be the ultimate fate of the main question, its discussion will comprehend so many curious philological inquiries, and will throw light upon so many doubtful and obscure, and even hitherto unintelligible passages in the works of some of our old poets and dramatic writers, as to excite an interest totally independent of the principal subject.

He does not think it necessary to make any great apology for presuming to differ in opinion from all or any of the learned men who have preceded him in this inquiry. It does not appear to him that profound erudition is absolutely necessary to the in-

vestigation: there are many passages and expressions in these Poems, as in the Works of Shakspeare and his contemporaries, intelligible to a Yorkshire farmer or his plough boy, which all the erudition of the two Universities would not be able to explain without the advantage of acquaintance with the northern dialect; or in other words, with the old English language.

Learning, as the late Dr. Johnson hath said upon a similar occasion, is often of no other use than to shew a track, by which the critic or the commentator may deviate from his purpose.

I trust that I shall be able to point out a great variety of errors committed by all the gentlemen who have agitated this subject; and do not expect to be myself exempt from error. A trifling circumstance will often mislead a commentator, and another circumstance, equally trifling, may give an advantage to him who succeeds. No person will doubt either the learning or the sagacity of Dr. Johnson; yet he, in speaking of the advantage of his own Dictionary, committed a palpable blunder at the very

commencement of his great and laborious undertaking: "If (says he) Shakspeare had had a Dictionary of this kind, he had not made the woodbine entwine the honey-suckle." Shakspeare on the contrary, had no occasion, at least not in this instance, for any Dictionary: he has expressed himself with the animation of a poet and the correctness of a botanist:

> "So doth the woodbine, the sweet honey-suckle
> Gently entwist,—the female ivy so
> Enring the barky fingers of the elm."
> *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, act 4, scene 1.

He knew very well, although Dr. Johnson did not, that the honey-suckle is the flower or the blossom of the woodbine, but not the woodbine itself: he personifies as it were or animates the shrub, and makes it entwine its honey-suckles exactly as any other poet might have made

> ——— ——— "The rampant vine
> The clustering dulcet grape entwine."

Shakspeare, no doubt, when a boy, had *sucked* the honey from the nectarium of the honey-*suckle* a thousand times when lisping his native wood notes wild: but Dr. John-

son it is probable from constitutional infirmities had never amused himself in that manner, and was therefore excusable for confounding, like Bailey, the shrub with its blossom: they might with equal propriety, have called the blossom of the apple an apple-tree.

This little inaccuracy was pointed out to Dr. Johnson many years since: and from a note in the late edition, it would seem that he had been (although rather awkwardly) half sensible of it. See p. 121. v. v. Johns. and Steev. edit. of Shakspeare.

"Shakspeare perhaps only meant, *so the leaves* involve the flower: using woodbine for the plant, and honey-suckle for the flower; or perhaps Shakspeare made a blunder." The Doctor has here unluckily made a second blunder. It is not the leaves that involve the flower, but the tendrils; which, like the tendrils of the vine, catch hold of, and entwist any neighbouring branch of a tree; in want of which they entwist each other or their own branches.

Although it may not be necessary to offer any apology for differing in opinion from

many of the writers on the Rowleian controversy, there is a very numerous class of readers which I am anxious to obtain and to conciliate, to whom a very serious apology is due—I mean those who trusting more to the established reputation of other critics, than to their own serious examination of the subject, have long considered the controversy at an end. To these I beg leave to observe that there is a nautical expression occurring every day, and I might almost say every hour of the day, in our News-papers, Gazettes, Magazines and Accounts of Voyages and Travels, which is grossly erroneous, but which 999 in 1000 of the readers and writers of those papers will be ready to defend; and I might, perhaps, add, that many even of the naval officers of this sea-faring nation, to whom every nautical phrase ought to be as familiar as A B C, would join in the defence, and sanction the error, the grossness of which is not the less for the number or respectability of its supporters.

The erroneous expression to which I allude is, that of getting a ship *under weigh*,

for there is no such phrase in the English Language. The proper expression is, getting a ship *under way—i. e.* a ship at anchor is ordered to proceed on her voyage or cruise; the anchor is *weighed*, the sails are trimmed, the breeze caught, and the vessel immediately got *under way*, or in other words, she very speedily acquires such a degree of motion or way through the water as to answer her helm—then, and not not till then, is she properly said to be *under way*, and so long as she answers her helm she continues to be under way, from England to the East Indies. Now, permit me to remark that 1000, or any number of persons practising and persisting in this error cannot render it less erroneous.

The proportion of readers who believe Chatterton to have been author of the Poems attributed to Rowley may not be quite so great, but it is sufficiently numerous to be regarded by me as a very formidable and a very respectable body, which it will be the business of the following pages to convince, or rather to endeavour to convince, that it has adopted the opinion

upon the strength of arguments and assertions by no means conclusive:—I dare not presume to go one step further, and assert that I hope also to convince such readers, that the Poems are the authentic production of a writer of the 15th century, because the harmonious flow and modern cadence will for ever militate strongly against such a conclusion: but I flatter myself I shall be able to make it appear that every other objection is groundless, although sanctioned by the respectable names of Warton and Tyrwhitt, of Southey and Walpole, Scott and Pinkerton, and adopted by thousands and tens of thousands of readers.—When I say every other objection, I mean such as have been hitherto advanced; because, it will be my duty during this examination to shew that there are verbal objections to the antiquity and authenticity of Rowley's Poems, which have entirely escaped the notice of those justly celebrated critics.

THE

INTRODUCTION,

&c. &c.

IT is with much diffidence that I undertake the task of recalling the attention of the literary world to a subject which has already undergone very ample discussion, and which appears, in the estimation of most persons acquainted with the controversy to have been long since in a manner finally decided. I am not, however, without hope, that the time is arrived when a candid and unprejudiced attention may be given to a few observations on either side of the question. I am fully aware of the prejudices which I have to encounter, and not insensible to the weight of the following sentiment from the pen of a well-informed writer—"The recent publication of Chatterton's works may possibly revive the controversy respecting Rowley's Poems; but that controversy has been already treated with so much learning and ingenuity, that

inspiration can hardly throw a new light upon it." To inspiration no claim is here advanced, unless the writer may be said to be inspired with an ardent zeal for investigating the subject, and in that sense he hopes he will be found to be truly inspired.

In common with every other admirer of Rowley's Poems I have felt the full force of many of the objections to their antiquity and authenticity; but more especially to the objections which arise from the modern flow and cadence of the versification; and I have been ever ready to listen with attention to those who have asserted that it is highly improbable a writer of the fifteenth century could have been the author of such harmonious compositions; still, upon a critical perusal of the work, I have been so repeatedly struck with its antique allusions and expressions, that I have again exclaimed (as others have done before me)—such allusions and such modes of expression could not have fallen from the pen of any modern writer, unless singularly learned, artful and experienced, and little less than impossible that they could have been the hasty productions of a boy recently emancipated from a charity school, where reading, writing and arithmetic were the only objects of education.

Before I enter upon the subject, I beg leave to intimate that it is now upwards of

twenty-five years since these poems were sent to me from Cambridge by a gentleman who was at that time one of the Fellows of St. John's College, by whom I was insensibly drawn into a very agreeable correspondence and discussion of the subject. Thro' the medium of that gentleman my observations were communicated to the late Doctor Glyn, from whose favourable representation I was honoured with the notice of the late Dr. Milles, and I may truly say, that altho' previous to the year 1808, I never published a single sentence myself on the Rowleian controversy, and although my name was never publicly known as a coadjutor, several *remarks of mine are already before the public: but the laurels obtained in that warfare, particularly by the advocates for the authenticity of the Poems, were, perhaps, too scanty to admit of division, and the ridicule incurred too keen and copious for voluntary participation: I was therefore happy in silence and obscurity, and my time becoming soon after completely occupied by professional duties, the Poems were many years disregarded by me till a life of leisure and literary retirement, the reward of labour and industry, has given me an opportunity

* It will, perhaps, be impossible in the following discussion to avoid a repetition of some of these. The repetition will, however, be rare, and when unavoidable, shall be accompanied with new or better illustrations and confirmations.

of turning my thoughts again to this amusing study.

The tide of opinion having run almost universally in favour of Chatterton's claim to these elegant compositions,it will scarcely be necessary for me to advance any thing in confirmation of that claim; I might, indeed, on many accounts stand excused were I to adopt a contrary resolution, together with the motto "*parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*;" but as the discovery of truth is my object, if any thing new should occur during this inquiry, which may confirm the general sentiment declared so highly to his honor and reputation as a poet, I will bring it forward with the same candour, though possibly not with the same pleasure,that I would feel in establishing his character for veracity as a man.*

It is an undeniable fact that there are arguments on both sides of the question, very difficult to be answered; it is also a fact that the Poems, by whomsoever writ-

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*When Chatterton is spoken of as a man, it ought always to be remembered that it was one of only 17 years of age, for he died in his 18th year, and therefore must have written the Poems attributed to Rowley, if he really did write them, betwixt his 14 and his 17; or possibly some part of them in his 18th year:—but the very satisfactory testimony of Mr. Thistlethwaite which has been already quoted, carries us back to the year 1764, the 12th year of Chatterton, when the beautiful Poem of Elinoure and Juga was in the hands of him and Mr. Phillips.

In addition to this, we have the testimony of Mr. Warton that Mr. Walpole had delivered his opinion of Rowley's Poems to Chatterton, two years before his removal from Bristol. See Mr. Warton's Inquiry in answer to Milles and Bryant, page 109.

ten, rank with the most beautiful and sublime compositions in the English language; consequently every difficulty or obscurity which occurs in their perusal is well entitled to elucidation, and whatever may be the result of the present inquiry, whether it may stagger the fashionable sceptic or fix his incredulity, it must indeed be ill-executed if it do not excite some attention on the part of readers possessed of the least poetical feeling or antiquarian curiosity.—For if the existence of a writer in the fifteenth century, possessed of all the attainments with which Rowley has been dignified, be a phenomenon in the history of English Literature of the most pleasing and interesting nature, surely the talents, the industry, and the success of an unlearned school-boy of the present age in conjuring up such a personage, in clothing him with such attributes, and supporting his character with such an imposing and correct uniformity must be a circumstance dwelt upon with equal pleasure and interest.

Were there indeed no other motive for the inquiry than merely the pleasure of attending to the art and ingenuity of this surprising author in displaying his beautiful and sublime imagery, at one time bursting upon us with all the splendor of the noonday sun, at another veiled in more than cimmerian clouds and darkness, that alone

would to myself be an ample recompence for the labour I have undertaken; and when it is recollected that the inquiry comprehends an investigation of the darkest periods of English literature, and in many instances, the most remote traces of our language: I feel perfect confidence that whatever apologies may be due for want of abilities or success in the execution, none can be necessary for want of importance in the subject.

I shall not hesitate therefore to re-enter the labyrinth; or, to use the language of the Poems, again to penetrate the *mèrke* wood of verbal criticism. I am aware that the bushes have been already beaten on every side, and abundance of game started, not only by qualified sportsmen, but poachers innumerable. Still however I am confident that fresh game may be sprung; and have no doubt that other sportsmen and other poachers will be roused from the *hyltern* Den. But it is not for me to anticipate the amusement of gentlemen sportsmen; nor will I deprecate their ridicule: I will merely observe that if I am fortunate enough to escape the shafts of that ridicule which in the discussion of Rowley's Poems appears to have been hitherto regarded as the test of truth, I shall be glad. If on the contrary I also am destined to feel its force, I shall console myself with the reflection that I suffer in very good company.

I had not read many pages of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley before I thought I perceived evident marks of Chatterton having fallen into errors which are common to, and perhaps, unavoidable by every editor of an old poem; and I assumed it as a principle that, on account of his youth and inexperience, if he were really the editor and not the author, his explanations would afford very strong internal evidence to confirm the opinion. If such men as the late Mr. Warton, Mr. Tyrwhitt, the Rev. Dean Milles, and the venerable Mr. Bryant, with all the advantage of mature age and experience, with every collateral aid of books and manuscripts, with free access to public libraries, and the correspondence and conversation of learned men; and above all, with established character for sound learning and critical judgment, were unable to avoid palpable mistakes, in the explanation of such poems as they had voluntarily undertaken to explain; it must necessarily follow, that an unlearned schoolboy, destitute of most, if not all the above advantages, must have much more frequently committed mistakes, in explaining the writings and poems of which he had only become an editor by accident; or innocently at least, as there never could have been the slightest suspicion of any design inconsistent with the character of a man of

honor and integrity; notwithstanding the unfeeling, cruel, and opprobrious epithets with which his name and his memory have been unjustly loaded.

So strongly was I impressed with this idea, that I had made up my mind to consider every line of the Poems as the undoubted invention of Chatterton, if they were able to stand against such a test.

I flattered myself that I had produced convincing testimony at the commencement of the controversy of the errors of Chatterton:* and when I saw many of those errors pointed out by Dr. Milles, Mr. Bryant, and a third anonymous writer, I imagined that the public would have acquiesced in the opinion that Chatterton was the editor only, and not the author of the Poems: and it was not without surprise that I observed at a late period of the controversy, Mr. Warton, with some degree of triumph, assert, "I have here given this objection all the force that it can claim, and more, perhaps, than it deserves; for I doubt much whether in Chatterton's whole volume, *six* instances can be pointed out, where he has annexed false interpretations to words that appear, when rightly understood, to suit the con-

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* Mr. Tyrwhitt's 8vo. vol. with the Appendix, was published in 1777. Many notes of mine pointing out mistakes of Chatterton were communicated to Dr. Glynn, in May, 1778.

text, and to convey a clear meaning: and these mistakes *if* even there are *so many* as have been mentioned, are very easily accounted for from the causes now assigned."

I am indeed strangely mistaken if much more than double that number of instances may not be found in the different publications which have already appeared, and which I will not now bring forward again; but I pledge myself that I will, during this Inquiry, exhibit much more than double that number, which have escaped the observation of all these gentlemen, and which have not yet been laid before the public.

Before I proceed to such instances, it may be worth while to point out some of the errors committed by the late Mr. Warton, in his History of English Poetry; because I conceive them to be of the same nature with those which either have been, or shall be pointed out on the part of Chatterton, respecting the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, which of themselves shew that he could not have been the author of those Poems.

Mr. Warton has entirely misunderstood the first line of a very beautiful sonnet or elegy of Lord Surry, upon his being imprisoned in *Windsor Castle*; the place where he had spent many happy juvenile days with young Richmond, Henry's natural

son. Lord Surry makes this beautiful and pathetic reflection:

'So cruel prison, how coulde betyde, alas
———————as proud Windsor."

Which Mr. Warton has thus explained; "How could the stately Castle of Windsor become so miserable a prison?" by which the beauty and pathetic nature of the thought is entirely lost. Lord Surry's imagination was running upon his *former happiness* in that place, and on that account exclaims alas, "what prison coulde betyde (or happen) so cruel *to me in particular* as proude Windsor,"

"Where I in Luste and Joye
With a King's Sonne my childishe yeares did passe
In greater joy than Priams Son of Troye."
Vol. iii. p. 12.

That the true meaning is here given appears evident a few lines further, where he again says,

"Oh place of Bliss, *Renewer of my woes,*
Give me *accompt** where is my noble Fere."†
Ib. p. 15.

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* Mr. Warton objected to the word accompt or accounte in this sense as much more modern than the age of Rowley. He confines it at that period to an accompt or account of sums of Money cast up. This word shall hereafter be produced in the same sense, both prior and posterior to the middle of the 15th century.

† In the Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. iii. p. 246, this Sonnet is erroneously ascribed to Sir John Harrington.

In Mr. Warton's account of Duncan Leider or M'Gregor's Testament, (see History of English Poetry, vol. ii. page 329,) there is the following passage.

> " Oppression the Personne I leif untill
> Pouir Mens corne to hald upon the *Rig*
> Quhill he get the Teynd al hail at his will."

which Mr. W. thus explained: " I leave oppression to the Parson the proprietor of the great or rectorial tythes, to keep the corn of the poor in the rig or rick, until he get the tithe all at his will." This is far short of the true spirit of the ancient Satyrist. The meaning is, " I leave oppression unto the Parson that he may *detain* the whole of the poor man's harvest, upon the rig; i. e. upon the *ridges* in his corn field; not permitting him to house it, let the disadvantage to the poor man, from bad weather, or any other cause, be what it may, till he himself have a convenient opportunity to take away his tenth part or tithe.

Mr. Warton did not know that the word *rig* is at this day in common use in the northern counties (where the old English language is yet spoken), and means those ridges or elevated parts in a ploughed field, upon which the sheaves of corn are arranged after being cut and bound up in harvest. Rig is opposed to furrow. A pair of ribbed stockings are yet said to be knit or

woven in rigs and furrows. The spina dorsi is the hrycg-ban in Saxon. The most elevated piece of timber in the angle or roof of a house is called the rigging tree in the north; in short the word ridge is merely the Saxon hrycg pronounced with the g soft, analogous to brig and bridge: Surely the historian of English Poetry could not, or ought not, to have been unacquainted with the beautiful old song, beginning,

"Corn riggs are bonny o!"

which every child in the north of England knows alludes to the regular and beautiful waving lines of ridge and furrow in a corn field.*

In another quotation from an old poem, Mr. W. has shewn us how easily and naturally an editor falls into such errors, as will convince every unprejudiced reader, that he could not have been himself the author of that of which he is only the copier or commentator. Thus in Richard Cœur de Lion, vide Hist. of Eng. P. vol. i, p. 165, he has given a long quotation, describing a combat betwixt Richard and the Soudan: the

* In so trifling a matter as this it will scarcely be necessary for me to say that this explanation has been in the margin of my copy of Rowley's Poems upwards of thirty years, consequently not taken from Mr. Ritson's ungracious Epistle to Dr. Warton: every remark of mine will breathe a different spirit from those of Mr. Ritson. If they do not evince an equal portion of critical acumen, they shall not betray a similar degree of critical acrimony.

latter had made Richard a present of a very famous colt, which had been taught to kneel down to suck, whenever it approached its dam. It was the Soudan's artifice to bestride the dam of this colt during the combat, whilst Richard bestrode the colt. The old bard thus describes the Soudan:

> " A Faucon brode in Honde he bare,
> For he thought he would thare
> Have slayne Richard with Treasoune,
> When that his Colt should kneel down."

Mr. Warton with wonderful inattention renders *brode* bird, and considers Faulcon as the species. A moment's attention would have convinced him, that the Faucon brode was a broad Falcion which the Soudan carried in his hand; a much more proper instrument for dispatching Richard with than a hawk.*

In the first volume of the same History, p. 72, there is a passage, where, by mistaking an s for an f, the sense has been confused. Robert de Brune is describing Rich-

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* This blunder of Mr. Warton had not escaped the penetrating eye of a gentleman to whom I am much indebted for having pointed out several inaccuracies and some idle and irrelevant notes in the first sketch of this Inquiry. I regret that I have been deprived of his pruning hook before I had compleated my task; and still more that I am not permitted to mention his name. Much cannot be deduced from the spelling of an old English poet; but this gentleman has observed in his marginal remarks on Mr. W.'s History, that where the author speaks of the Faulcon as a Bird, he spells it with a w, Fawcon, and when as a broad sword, Faucon.

ard as having forced his way singly into a castle of the Saracens:

"And when he was withinne, and foughte as a wild Leon
He fondered the Saracins otuynne."

which Mr. W. has thus explained, "he formed the Saracens into two parties." And this in some measure gives the sense of the passage; but doubtless the old poet wrote sondered, i. e. Richard by his wonderful prowess, cut or sundered forcibly a body of the Saracens in twaine. I perceive Mr. Ellis in his Specim. vol. i, p. 122, has the same conjecture.

Mr. W. has been equally negligent in the verbal interpretations in his inquiry or examination of the arguments of Mr. Bryant and Dr. Milles. In a note at the bottom of p. 51, he tells us that "Leland speaking of a castle in Fulbroke-park near Warwick says, "This castell stoode *bremlye* in the sight of Warwyke Castle, and was a cawse of hart-brineynge." That is (Mr. W. continues) *conspicuously, full in syght.*" "It stared Warwick-Castle in the face." Itin. vol. viii, fol. 76.

A very little attention might have convinced Mr. Warton that the "cawse of hart brineynge" was not because the castle stood conspicuously, or full in sight, but because it stood boldly, fiercely, bravely in opposition to it, the sense in which the same

word occurs in the Poems attributed to Rowley; and which Chatterton, like Mr. W. misunderstood.

I do not stop here because these are all the instances which might be produced from the History of English Poetry, but because they are amply sufficient to establish that argument, which I thought I had many years ago been the first successfully to have deduced from them, viz. that if the youthful editor could be convicted of many similar mistakes, it would be difficult to defend his claim to the honor of having written these Poems.

That the above mistakes of Mr. Warton were not noticed by Dr. Milles in his edition of Rowley's Poems must be ascribed to a mildness and gentleness of disposition very different from that with which he was himself assailed. In a letter to me he thus expressed himself, "Nothing can be more just than your several criticisms upon Mr. Warton's mistakes." The reader will therefore be convinced that he was in possession of them; and I trust, will not be displeased with this tribute to his memory, and proof of his moderation and forbearance: but had they been published in the life-time of Mr. Warton, I am persuaded they would have produced nothing more than a good humoured smile; for mistakes in verbal criticism are unavoidable, and often unac-

countable:* local information, or a mere accidental circumstance, may enable one person, with very moderate pretensions to critical ability, to explain a passage, with which the best and the most learned commentators may have been compleatly puzzled.

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* Hits are also sometimes as strange, as unaccountable, and accidental as misses. From a gentleman well acquainted with old English literature, and a *merciless persecutor* of all who in the least incline towards a belief in Rowley, I received a jocular note, begging a response from the *oracle* whether the words huffer and hurtle as given below, were of the same classical stock and genealogy.

> " See how my haggard *huffers** in the aire,
> It is a Falcon farre beyond compare."
> *Intro. to Latham's Falconry.*
>
> " The noise of Battle *hurtled* in the air."
> *Shakspeare, Julius Cæsar.*

I was at that moment in the library of my friend Mr. Peate, with my eye on Gerard's Herbal; the similarity of sound suggested an examination whether that author gave the etymology of Whortle Berry. " The blacke whortle or hurtle† *(vaccinium nigrum Linnæi)* is a base and low shrub or woody plant." " Wortle Berries *is* called in high Dutch *crackebesian*, because they make a certain *cracke* whilst they be broken betweene the teeth." So far Gerard. Hence may be deduced to *hurtle* to *crackle* or *rattle*, and

> " The noise of Battle hurtled (or *rattled)* in the air."

To this accidental circumstance is owing the discovery of a meaning that had baffled my repeated endeavours, and the removal of a difficulty felt and acknowledged by all our commentators.

> " But kindness, nobler than revenge,
> And nature stronger than his just occasion,
> Made him give battle to the lioness,
> Who quickly fell before him; in which *hurtling*
> From miserable slumber I awak'd." *As You Like It.*

In these and all the other passages in which the same word occusit may be rendered *rattling*

> " Here the polynian he comes *hurtling* in."
> Emp. of the Turks 1594.

* *Huffer* is merely a mode of spelling adopted in correspondence with a coarse and vulgar pronunciation of the word *hover*.

† *Hurtle or whortle berries are at present called* herts *in Somersetshire.*

The detection of these mistakes, although trifling in themselves, is of much importance in the discussion of the subject which I am about to treat: and I claim the reader's indulgence, whilst I notice some which relate more immediately thereto; and in which the historian of English Poetry hath equally laid himself open to critical correction.

"It is very improbable (says Mr. Warton in his answer to Dean Milles) that Rowley, writing in the reign of Henry the sixth or Edward the fourth, as is now pretended, or in that of Henry the fourth, as was assigned by the *credulous* before they had digested their system, should incidentally in a poem on another subject say '*now is* Richard,' &c. Chatterton, having stored his mind with images and customs suited to the times he meant originally for the era of his fictitious ancient, introduced them as well as he could in subsequent composition."

This is one of the objections to a passage in these Poems, which when duly considered, will corroborate their claim to authenticity and antiquity: an objection, which like many others, has been adopted with too much complacency to Mr. Warton's acknowledged merit and reputation as an editor, or historian of ancient English Poetry. Here the author, whether ancient or modern, is beautifully consistent. Some

of the Poems are alleged to have been written by him in his own name, and on subjects contemporary with himself: others as translations from Turgotus and preceding writers: and as if by way of anticipating an answer to this very objection, in his Letter to Mr. Canning, p. 73, he thus expresses himself.

"Cannynge and I from common course dyssente;
We ryde the stede, botte yev to him the reene;
Ne wylle betweene *crás'd* molterynge Bockes be pente,
Botte soare on hyghe, and yn the sonne-beames sheene;
And where we kenn somme ishad floures besprente
We tak ytte, and from *oulde Rouste* doe ytte clene."

Were it necessary therefore to consider the line

"Rycharde of Lyons harte to fyghte *is* gon."

As an anachronism, it is thus satisfactorily accounted for. But the Poem is composed in the person and name of a contemporary speaker; one who lived in the age of Richard, and not in that of Rowley. Had it been composed by Mr. Warton, there would have been no impropriety in the expression; he might even have said *now* is Richarde, &c.: but the reader will observe that it is Mr. W. and not the author who says *now*; And the historian of English Poetry ought to have known, that, independent of these considerations, the mention of a transaction of the time passed in the present tense, is a form of speech in which all our ancient

poets delight; witness the numerous instances in the entertaining volumes entitled the Minstrelsy of the Scot. Border lately published.

"Then Dicky *has* into the stable gane,
Where there stood thirty horses and three;
He *has* tied them a' wi' St. Mary's knot,
A' these horses but barely three. p. 10.

"He's loupen on ane, ta'en another in hand
And away as fast as he can hie."

"Then red Rowen has *hente* him up."

"Her coats she *has* kilted up to her knee
While tears in spaits (torrents) fa fast frae her E'e."

"And he *has* ta'en out his fringed gray
And there brave hobby he rade him weel."

"The Galliard to nitheside *is* gane."

"The queen she slipp it up the stair
And she gaed up right privately,
And she *has* stoun the prison key's,
And gane and set Ochilree free." *Minstrelsy.*

"Her maid *is* gone, and she prepares to write,
First hovering o'er the paper with her quill.
Tarquin and Lucrece, Shaksp.

In the Hist. of Romeo and Juliet, in Johns. and Steev. edition of Shakspeare, this *error* occurs very frequently, and in hundreds of other really ancient poems. Whatever may be thought of the grammatical part of this observation, it must be admitted that the author has been uncommonly fortunate in the choice of a name; for *Nigellus Wireker*, the poet, must have been a young man at the time of Richard's expedition; and may well be

supposed to have had a father gone upon that ridiculous but splendid and heroic crusade. Is it *credible* that a person in the situation of Chatterton could thus in the space of one or two lines, not only accidentally and incidentally hit upon so singular a name, but on an obsolete poetical form of speech, which was confessedly unknown to the learned and indefatigable historian of English Poetry? together with the anticipation of the objection all as it were by intuition?

Mr. W. has been equally unhappy in his objection to the Eve-speckte wynge of the owlet. Tourn. 1, 56.

"The flemed owlet flapps her *eve-speckte wynge.*"

"To enumerate his compound epithets (says he, p. 25 of his Reply to Milles, Bryant, &c.) such as the owlett's eve-speckte wynge and a thousand others, would be tedious and trifling." Why? Chatterton by the eve-speckte wynge, understood the "*wing mark'd with evening dew.*" He knew nothing of its meaning, but endeavoured to explain it by guess, and guessed wrong. Dr. Milles has approached very near to the truth; but has not given us the whole truth. He says "the eve-speckte wing of the owl seems to allude to the dark spots on one species of them, and not to the evening dew." The whole truth is this:

The author of these Poems has given a thousand proofs that he was an admirer and an elegant describer of nature. Had even Linnæus been describing the wing of the owlett he could not have fixed upon a more striking, a more characteristic, or happier epithet than the eve-speckt, i. e. the *even* or *evenly* spotted or speckled wing; for, of the multitude of beautiful specks with which the wings of this bird are adorned, each has its fellow, in the most regular and *equal* arrangement. We now know, and we are partly indebted to these Poems, for the information, that the old English word evalle is the same as the modern equal, and "*eve*, is, in the Teutonic, as much as to say *consimilis even* the same: for our *even* cometh from the Teutonic word *eve*, and likewise from their *eve* so cometh our *even* so:" Verstegan, p. 191.

To this might be added, that the *evening* is the exact portion of time betwixt day light and darkness, or twilight. The eaves of a house take their name from the exactness and evenness of the line; and the eve-drop, which forms an even parallel line with the wall of the house, is a name originating in the same idea.

Would it not be trifling with the reader, to adopt for a single moment the notion, that Chatterton was not as ignorant of the

true meaning of the eve-speckte wynge as Mr. Warton; or that he did undertand it, but artfully inserted a false and nonsensical interpretation, to deprive himself of the credit and reputation due to the writer of such Poems?

This interpretation of the eve-speckte wynge throws light on a passage in Hamlet, and they mutually support each other. Act v, scene 2. "And the more pity; that great folks should have countenance in this world to drown or hang themselves, more than their *even* christian:" i. e. more than their *equal* christian; from eve or evall equal. Shakspeare uses the same word as a verb, which has been noticed by Mr. Malone in the following passages.

> "Be comforted, good Madam; the great rage,
> You see, is cured in him; (and yet it is danger
> To make him *even* o'er the time he has lost.)
> *King Lear*, act iv, scene 7.

> "There's more to be considered; but we'll *even*
> All that good Time will give us."

Mr. Steevens doubted its being a verb; not considering, that however strange it may appear at present, standing by itself; we still retain it in common language as a verb in the compound word even-ing: i. e. the equalising, or rendering day and night as to light *eve* or equal. We still frequently express it in common conversation by the old word *eve*, alone; as Christmas *eve*,

or this *eve*. In the Winter's Tale we have "*even* to the guilt, or the purgation;" which signifies, *equal* to the guilt, &c.

After the high tone in which Mr. Warton expressed himself during the controversy, what are we to think of the following ill-grounded and unguarded assertion? "Throughout these Poems we *never* find a noun in the plural number joined with a verb in the singular; an offence against grammar which every ancient poet, from the time of Chaucer to that of Shakspeare, has frequently committed, and from which Rowley, if such a poet had existed, would certainly not have been exempted." Vide p. 13 of his Cursory observations, &c.

The great respect due to every objection from the pen of Mr. Warton will, it is presumed, induce the reader to pardon the length of this note, in which *a few* instances shall be enumerated, not only of nouns in the plural number joined to verbs in the singular, but *vice versa*, which have occurred during a hasty perusal of Rowley's Poems: more may, easily be noticed by more attentive readers.

"Like honted bockes *theye reineth* here and there." Ecl. ii, l. 25,

"Dhereof the syght yer courage *doe* affraie." Ib. l. 29.

"Syke sunnys *wayne* wyth amayl'd beams *doe* barr."

"The blaunchie mone or estells to gev lighte."
Ecl. ii. l. 43.

"Syr Roggere the parsonne *hav* hyred me there."
Ib. iii. l. 17.

"Methinkes the cockes beginn*eth* to gre talle."
Ib. iii. l. 34.

"Soe sayinge, lyke twa levyn-blasted trees,
Or *twayne* of *cloudes* that hold*eth* stormie Rayne."
El. and Jug. 44.

"The feerie heaulmettes, withe the wreathes amielde
Suppor*tes* the rampynge Lyoncell or Beare."
Tourn. l. 6.

"But *rhym* wyth somme, as nedere widhout teethe,
Make pleasaunce to the sense, botte maie do little scethe."
Epis. to Can. l. 12.

"And dygne, and wordhie thought*es ys* all his care."
Ib. l. 52.

"As her whytte hond*es* whytte hosen *was* knyttyng."
Æ. l. 210.

"The boddynge flouret*tes* bloshes at the lyghte."
Ib. l. 651.

"The *trees* enleefed, yntoe Heavenne straughte,
When gentle wyndes doe blowe, to whestlyng dynne *ys* broughte."
Ib. l. 160.

"*Yonge ivie* rounde the doore poste *doe* entwine."
Ib. l. 169.

"Whanne autumpne blake and sonne-brente *doe* appere."
Ib. l. 178.

"Whan al the *hyls* with woddie seede *ys* whyte."
Ib. l. 181.

"Whann the *fayre apple*, rudde as even skie,
Do bende the tree unto the fructyle grounde."
Ib. l. 185.

"O mie upswalynge harte, what wordes can saie
The peyn*es* thatte passe*the* ynn mie soule ybrente?"
Ib. l. 259.

"Yee mychtie Goddes, and *ys* yer favour*es* sente."
Ib. l. 261.

"Reasonne and counynge wytte efte *flees* awaie."
Ib. l. 268.

" The foemenn everyche honde-poyncte, getteth fote."
Æ. l. 273.

"_____ robe of lillie whyte,
Whyche farre abrode ynne gentle ayre *doe* flie."
Ib. l. 391.

" Yee who hie yn mokie ayre
Delethe seasonnes foule or fayre,"
Ib. l. 435.

" The dyngeynge *ounde* the saundie stronde doe tare."
Ib. l. 547.

" Of *mee*, and *meynte* of *moe*, who eke can fyghte
Who haveth trodden downe the adventayle."
Ib. l. 469.

" Inne gyte of fyre our hallie churche *dheie dyghtes*."
Ib. l. 607.

" Oppe bie the rootes our tree of lyfe *dheie pyghtes*."
Ib. l. 609.

" Ælla *and* Bristowe hav*ethe* thoughtes thattes hygher."
Ib. l. 625.

" The swelleynge fyre *yer (their)* courage *doe* enflame."
Ib. l. 710.

" Whanne a loude whyrlwynde *doe* yttes boesomme tare."
Ib. l. 577.

" Lyke bull*es*, whose strengthe *and* wondrous myghte ys fledde."
Ib. l. 785.

" 'Tys Birtha's *loss* whyche *doe* mie thoughtes possesse."
Ib. l. 920.

" For yn her lookes I fynde mie *beynge doe* entwyne."
Ib. l. 925.

" Whene swyfte-fote *tyme doe* rolle the daie alonge."
Ib. l. 996.

" Wyde *ys* the sylver lem*es* of comforte wove."
Ib. l. 1011.

" Darklynge the *lyghte doe* on the waters plaie."
Ib. l. 11278.

" Swifte *flies* the *howers* that wylle brynge out the daie."
Ib. l. 1130.

" So fall*es* the fayrest flouret*tes* of the playne."
Ib. l. 1237.

" Whyllomme bie peusmenne moke ungentle name
Have uponne Godwynne Erle of Kente bin layde."
Prol. to God. l. 1.

" What foem*en* ris*eth* to ifrete the londe."
God. l. 2.

" Eftsoones the Normann*es* and our agrame flies
Ib. l. 93.

" Mie Friende, Syr Hughe, whatte Tydyng*es* bryng*es* thee here?" Ib. l. 148.

" There ys no mancas yn mie loverdes ente."
Ib. l. 149.

" The hus dyspe*nse* unpaide *doe* appere."
Ib. l. 150,

" The shypp*es* sayle, boleynge wythe the kyndlie ayre,
Ronn*eth* to harbour from the beatynge bryne."
Eng. Met. l. 18.

" Stept over cytti*es* on meint acres *lies*."
Ib. l. 77.

" Stylle *does* hys ashe*s* shoote ynto the lyghte."
Ib. l. 109.

" The commyng ghastness *do* the cattle pall."
B. of Ch. l. 31.

" The wyndes are up, the loftie elm*en* (elms) swang*es*."
Ib. l. 40.

" Agayn the levynne *and* the thunder poure*s*."
Ib. l. 41.

" So have I seen *a* leafie elme of yore
Hav been the pryde and glorie of the pleyne."
Bat. of Has. No. 1, l. 266.

" Duke Wyllyam gave commande; eche Norman knyghte
" That *beer* war-token in a shielde so fyne."
Bat. of H. b. ii. l. 571.

" So oliphaunte*s*, in kyngdomme of the sunne
When once provoked *doth* throwe theyr owne troopes run."
Ib. l. 628.

" Campynon felle, as when some citie *walle*
Inne do'eful.e terrours on its mynours *falle*."
Ib. l. 68.

" *This mightie pyle* that keeps the wyndes at baie,
Fyre Levyn and the mokie storme defie,"
Poem on our Ladies Churche.

" And *bothe* in payne and anguishe eftsoon *dies*."
Bat. of H. l. 538.

" As when the shepster yn the shadie bowre
In Jintle slumbers *chase* the heat of daie."
Ib. l. 82.

" And *yelle* of menne and dogs and wolfin's *tear* the skies."
Ib. l. 90.

" Forth from the easterne gatte the fyerie steedes
Of the bright sunne awaytynge spirits leedes."
Ib. l. 215.

" And now the javelyns————————
Whyzz dreare alonge, and songes of terror synges."
Ib. l. 263,

His hatchmentes rare with him upon the grounde *was* preste.
His friends he lets to live, and all his foemen bleedes."
Ib. l. 390.

" So tapre *was* her armes and shape ygrove."
Ib. l. 434.

" At one felle stroke full *manie is* laide lowe."
Ib. l. 460.

" Ye hyndes, awaie! orre bie thys swerde yee *dies*."
Æl. l. 1067.

" Ælle, I sayd, or els my mynd dyd saie,
Whie *ys* thy actyons left so spare yn storie."
Sto. of W. C. l. 26.

" Good Bysshoppe Carpynter dyd byd me saie,
He wysche you healthe and selynesse for aie."
Ib. l. 52.

"Throughout these Poems we *never* find a noun in the *plural* number joined with a verb in the singular" !!! *Risum teneatis!*

It is rather curious that the late learned historian of English Poetry, the very learn-

ed editor of Chaucer, and other learned commentators on these poems should have suffered it to escape their observation, that this apparently ungrammatical mode of confounding the singular noun with the plural verb, and *vice versa*, with which they every where abound, was an admitted exception in the ancient grammar of the English language, conformable with the Grecian idiom; or that it should have been left for me, who have scarcely looked into a Greek Grammar since I left school at the age of sixteen, to remind the opponents of Rowley's claim to antiquity and authenticity, that the exceptions to the first rule of Greek Syntax in the Grammar of Eton, confirm the assertion.

Τῶ ἀργυρίω ὑπολάσσελαι πάντα·
Οὐκ ἔζιν, ὅιτινες ἀπέχονλαι· *Plato.*
Ἄχειται ὀμφαι μελεων· *Pindar.*

But perhaps they may be able hereafter to prove that this very singular coincidence was not at all incompatible with the profound erudition of the late Thomas Chatterton.

Mr. Warton, who ranked in the numerous list of commentators on Shakspeare, might have turned his knowledge of the plural noun and singular verb to some use,

in rescuing the following passage of the Merchant of Venice from the obfuscations of criticism.

> " And others, when the bagpipe sings i'th' nose,
> Cannot contain their urine for affection.
> Masters of passion sways it to the mood
> Of what it likes or loaths."————Act iv.

This is the genuine text, which the commentators have puzzled and perplexed by not attending to this ancient mode of confounding the plural noun with the singular verb. Masters of Passion sways, meant exactly the same as Masters of Passion sway: i. e. Masters of Passion sway *it* (or Passion) to the mood of what it likes or loaths. The following will show that Shakspeare was in the habit of doing this.

> " Monies *is* your suit."
> *Merch. of Ven.* act i, sc. 3.

> " Riches, fineless, *is* as poor as winter
> To him who ever fears he shall be poor."
> *Othello,* act iii. sc. 3.

It is thus then that Mr. Warton has objected to the antiquity and authenticity of the Poems on account of their *correctness* in point of grammar; we shall soon find them arraigned with equal success by Mr. Tyrwhitt, for incorrectness. But it will first be perfectly consistent with the general tenor and design of this inquiry, to point

out a small number of the errors and misinterpretations which that justly celebrated critic also committed in his edition of Chaucer.

"Gesse. v. Sax. to guess. 2595. Tyrw."

Chaucer in that passage of the Knight's Tale, is describing a number of knights, one hundred on each side, preparing to gesse, jesse, or run a tilt at the tournament; it has nothing to do with guessing.

"So even were they chosen for to *gesse*:
And in two *renges* fayre they *hem* dresse."

Row. "adj. Sax. rough, 3736. 16329. C. D. 772, he looked well rowe." P. G. 507. *Tyrw.*

The first of these references ought to have been rendered *raw;* for the meaning of Chaucer is probably raw, like an incision in the flesh.

In the second and third, *row* should have been rendered fierce, ugly, or terrible, as we shall hereafter find it correctly used in the trajedies of Ælla and Goddwyn.

"For as I trow I have you told ynow
To reise a fend, al loke he never so *row*."
C. T. 16329.

"And with that word his hevy brow
He shewed the Quene, and looked *row*."
C. Dr. 774.

"Yshove, past. pa. L. W. 726, pushed forwards. *Tyrw.*"

Y-shove is here used for the pa-partic, *shewn*, analogous to the difficult words *adave* and *y-grove*, hereafter to be noticed in the Battle of Hastings.

" O! often swore thou that thou wouldest die
For love when thou ne feltest maladie
Save foul delite, whiche that thou callest love.
If that I live thy name shall be *y-shove* (shewn)
In Englishe, that thy deceipt shall be knowe:
Have at the Jason now thin horn is blow."

The same expression occurs again in the Leg. of Thisbe, l. 21.

" This yonge man was clepid Pyramus,
And Thisbe hight the maide (Naso saith thus)
And thus by reporte was ther name *yshove* (shewn)
That as thei woxe in age so woxe ther love."

Such is the influence of established reputation, that this, together with some other palpable blunders of Mr. Tyrwhytt, have been implicitly adopted by that very acute writer Mr. Godwin, in his expansive Life of Chaucer.

Kers " n. Sax. water cresses; of Paramours ne raught he not a *kers*. 3754, he cared not a *rush* for love. Cresse is used in the same sense in T. l, 1, 320, and ii, 332, 6, Tyrwhitt."

This is from the same story to which we have been already refered.

" For fro that time that he had kisst her e—s
Of paramours ne raught he not a *kers*."

That is, of lovers he cared not or recked not a *curse*. The vulgarity of the word to

which it rhimes, will justify this interpretation, in preference to the water cresess of Mr. Tyrwhytt; more especially as the a. s. cæpre a water cress is a very different thing from a rush. And this mistake of Mr. T. in changing a curse into water cresses will afford an excuse for the more venial error of poor Chatterton in turning the flower St. Mary into a Mary-gold; and perhaps it may countenance or assist in extenuating the greater and more numerous errors into which the author of this Examination may be himself drawn by his zeal in endeavouring to elucidate some favourite authors. Mistakes like these are apt to excite the petulance of commentators against each other; but indulgence in that petulance, contributes nothing to the cause of truth, and ought to be studiously avoided.

The reader will accept this as the reflection of a candid and ingenuous mind upon the suppression and erasement of a sarcastic remark, which the prurience of imagination, and the stimulus of the water cresses, at a warmer period of the controversy, had excited.

This argument may be further illustrated by attention to that small portion of Mr. Chalmer's late edition of Sir David Lindsay's Poetical Works, which has been copied and commented upon by an ingenious writer, in a well conducted Review.

A single extract, amounting to something less than one octavo page, affords five instances of either doubtful or erroneous interpretations..

" To *schort me* on the sandis" is rendered to *amuse myself* on the sands.—This is doubtful.

" They said blissit be Somer with his flouris
And waryit be thou winter with thy schouris."

The interpretation is " *possibly showers*:" the following lines from Dunbar will shew this conjecture to be just.

" Quhan that the nicht dois lenthin houris ;
With wynd, with haill, and havy *schouris*."

" Allace! Aurora, the *sillie* lark *can cry*.

This is erroneously rendered " the *wretched* lark *cried*." The true meaning is, " the *innocent* lark gan cry : which will clearly appear in the progress of this Examination.

" Proportionat weill, of mid stature,
Feirie and *wicht*."

Feirie and wicht are rendered *bold* and *strong*. No objection can be made to *bold* ; but *wicht* undoubtedly means *swift* of foot. —authorities, wight (o) Elisha Coles, Nat. Bailey, Spencer, and Phaers Virgil.

" So *wight* of foot, that Heber streame so swifte she leaves behind." B. p. 9, Æn.

"Swifte of feete, and *wight* of wing."

Ib. b. iv. p. 5

No apology is offered for introducing, or rather, perhaps, obtruding these doubtful or erroneous explanations here, because they point out in a manner most satisfactory, how very difficult it is for any editor of an old Poem, however learned or experienced, to avoid their occasional occurrence: and the advocates for the authenticity of Rowley, must, of necessity, give up the contest if Mr. Warton should not be found to have committed a most egregious mistake when he limited the number of Chatterton's misinterpretations to *five* or six; for they ought, on the consideration of his youth and inexperience, to be much more frequent. And if it can be shewn that they are to the full, as numerous as the grammatical *errors* of Rowley, every candid and unprejudiced reader must admit the question to remain *sub judice*; and the believers in the authenticity of the Poems to be entitled to a farther hearing.

As a prelude to the detection of Chatterton's errors. I now beg leave to notice a much greater number which may be fairly placed to the account of the late Mr. Tyrwhitt, who has committed a *faux pas* at the very threshhold of *his* objections, in pointing out what has hitherto been

considered, on his sole authority, as a severe stumbling-block to the vindicators of the authenticity and antiquity of these poems.

In the tenth line and first page of his own edition the following passage occurs.

> "First Roberte Neatherde hys sore boesom stroke,
> Then fell*en* on the grounde and thus yspoke." Ecl. 1. l. 10

And this leads me (says Mr. Tyrwhitt, in his Appendix) to the *capital blunder*, which runs through all these Poems, and would alone be sufficient to destroy their credit; I mean the termination of *verbs in the singular number* in n." To the line above quoted, Mr. Tyrwhytt adds several others, as

> P. 287, v. 17. "For thee I gott*en* or by wiles or breme."
> H. 1, 252. "He turn'd aboute and vilely sout*en* flie."
> H. 2, 349, "Fallyng he shook*en* out his smokyng brayne."
> H. 2, 344. "His sprite ne shuld*en* find a place in anie songe."
> Æ. 172. "So Adam thoughtenne when ynn paradyse."
> Ch. 54. "Full well it *shewn*, he thought*en* coste no sinne."
> "Ne one abash'd enthought*en* for to flee."
> Æ. 704. "Enthoughteyng for to scape the brondeynge foe."

Although I wish rather to occupy the attention of my readers with explanations of the difficult passages, and with detections of the mistakes of Chatterton than with the controversial part of verbal criticism, it seems incumbent upon me to take notice of this persevering accusation; be-

cause, if I am not successful in removing it, or rather, if it cannot by some more fortunate commentator be successfully removed, the claim of the old bard to these Poems will still remain very doubtful. But if some of the following quotations do not, in the opinion of critics on both sides of the question, remove Mr. Tywhitt's objection, I shall think it strange.

Mr. Tyrwhitt's own edition of Chaucer affords numerous instances.

"This Doctor on the high deis dranken wine so fast."

"Yet er I dyin with al my full myght."
Comp. of bl. Knt l. 542.

"Or that I dyin ye may knowe my trouthe."
Ib. l. 546.

"And alle be it that the Collect of Seynte Kateryne seye, that it is the place where our Lord betaughten the ten commandmentes to Moyses."
Sir John Mandev. Trav. p. 76.

"Yonder js ther an host of men,
j musen who they bee."
Ritson's Ancient Songs, p. 180.

"What! shulde he studie, and make *himselven* wood? Chauc. Tyrw. Ed. v. 184.

"That *he* so laye and haddin no felawe."
Comp. of Bl. K. l. 143

"To *me* that herdin all his complaining."
Ib. l. 171.

"For venus love *he* felten al the sore."
Ib. l. 388.

Five instances of this *irregular* verb occur in the space of six lines of the Cokes Tale.

Seide Gamelyn, if God give us
Grace wel for to do
He shall*en* it abegge anon
That him brought*en* thereto.

Then seid*en* Adam Dispencer,
That lokkis had*en* hore,
Christ's curse mot he havin
That bound*in* him so sore.

Line 1615.

"Which he nobly endowed, and *don* daily there grete almesse deeds." Vide Londin Rediviv. vol. 1. p. 231, l. 17.

The above specimen is from three or four quarto pages, written in the early part of the reign of Hen. VI. beautifully coincident in manner and style with the various specimens of Rowley's Prose.

So little is this great objection of Mr. Tyrwhitt's to be depended on, that in R. of the Rose, l. 6970, the plural termination occurs three times in the *first* person singular in the space of six lines: I del*in*—lov*in* I—I mak*in*,

"I del*in* with no wight but he
Have golde and tresour grete plente;
Ther acquaintance well lov*in* I:
This moche is my desire shortly;
I entremete me of brocages,
I mak*in* pece and mariages."

And also in the same, l. 1549: "But at the *last* than *thoughtin* I." And in the Bal. of the Village, l. 19: I taught*in* me to knowin in an hour." Again in the same short Poem, l 20; "Ne in her chere found*in* thou no favour."

" Ah, good nyghtyngale (quod I then)
A lytel haste thou ben to long hen,
For here hath ben the leude cuckowe
And song*en* songes *rather* (i. e. earlier) then hast thou."
Cuckowe and Nygtyngale, f. 1351, p. 1, col. 2.

And he that was King of Glorie and of Joye, migh*t*e*n* best in that place suffere dethe." Sir John Mandevylle, prol. p. 3,

The two following instances from Chaucer are alone sufficient to silence this objection.

" *Me* thought*en* then, that it was Maye
And in the dawning there I lay."
See Godw. l. of Chaucer, vol. 1, p. 185, Quotation from the book of the Duchesse.

" And when I had my tale ydo,
God wot sh' *accompted* not a stre
Of all my tale, so *thoughten me*." Ib. v. 1228.

" That it was May *me*thought*en* tho."
R. of the R. v. 2. p. 9.

" For *he* becam*en* the friendliest wight."
Troil and Cr. v. 1601.

" With that methought*en* that thys Kyng
Began homewardis for to ride."
Dreme of Chaucer, l. 1314.

In respect to Rowley's *enthoughteyng*, Mr. Tyrwhitt has thus expressed himself. " And what is still more curious, we have a participle of the present tense formed from this *fictitious* past time: " *Enthoughteyng* for to scape the brondeynge foe:" which would not have been a *bit* more intelligible in the fifteenth century, than it would be now." Appendix, p. 323.

Mr. Tyrwhitt would not have hazarded this assertion had he observed the following expression from the pen of Michael Drayton.

"Whereof herself she 'xacts such usury,
That she's els needy by *inwealthying* this,
And like a miser her rich chest doth kiss." Ecl. v. p. 431.

The word is still further countenanced by the following of Shakspeare, or whoever wrote the tragedy of Pericles. Act, iv, scene ult.

"——————— For me be you *thoughten*
That I came with no ill intent.

Fifty other instances of verbs in the singular number terminated with *en*, all taken from works of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, which a very acute and learned critic, an infidel to the claim of Rowley, has deemed a satisfactory answer to the objection of Mr. Tyrwhitt, might easily have been adduced; such as, "woll I now tell*en*."—"Should I take*n*."—"Woll I kysse*n*."—"Wol I speke*n*."—"Som man shall wedde*n*."—"I cannot tell*en*."—"Fetch*en* I would."—"He must gyve*n*."—"The Law shall faile*n*."—"He wyll not suffre*n*."—"He would oppose*n*."—"Myght I fele*n*."—"A man schal make*n*."—"Now wille I turne*n*." &c. &c. But since in all these

the auxiliary verb implies a kind of concealed infinitive mood as "woll I tellen"; which might be understood, "will I to tell", or "woll I kysen thee," *volo te osculare*," they are not here insisted upon, because, not only unnecessary, but liable to be classed under a very proper exception of Mr. Tyrwhitt. But the quotations which have been given at large, will for ever silence this *decisive* objection of his; for Roberte fell*en* is exactly the same grammatical construction as, "this Doctor drank*en*." I gott*en*. Rowley.—"I mus*en*." Capt. Car.—"He sout*en* flie."—Rowley. "He felt*en*."—Chaucer. "He shoocken."—Rowley. "He betaught*en*."—Mandevyl. "Adam thought*en*, and he thought*en*."—Rowley. "Me thought*en* and so thought*en* me."—Chaucer.

We are now therefore compelled to admit, that an author of the fifteenth century might have used any one, or all of these *irregular* verbs, as they are called by Mr. Tyrwhitt. And we at the same time admit, that any modern fabricator might very easily have done the same; so that nothing accrues in this point of view, to either side of the question in dispute. But very different must be the judgment of every candid reader on adverting to the "participle of the present tense formed from this *ficti-*

tious past time." *Enthoughteyng*.—Rowley. *Inwealthying*.—Drayton; who has also ingarlanding "with funeral wreaths ingarlanding his brows."—Leg. of Piers Gaveston, p. 205. fol. he has also invulgar, to make common: and Skelton, p. 9, encraumpyshed."

"Encraumpyshed so sore was my concyte."

He must be *credulous* indeed, who can for a moment suppose that *any* modern fabricator, however learned or experienced, much less that an unlearned and an inexperienced modern school-boy, should, either by accident or design, have manufactured this coincidence of *irregularity*, to which so acute and so learned a commentator as Mr. Tyrwhitt was a stranger.

The termination of the first person singular in *en* now ceases to be a stumbling-block to the vindicators of the antiquity and authenticity of the Poems of Rowley; whilst the past participle, and the *fictitious* time, must change sides, and for ever stand as an objection to the claim of Chatterton:

Mr. Tyrwhitt has not been more fortunate in his objections to *calked* for cast out

"*Calked* from everych joye, heere wylle I blede."

There are not in the English language nor in these Poems, two words open to less

objection than *calked* and *calke* for cast out. They have been very unnecessarily questioned by Mr. T., and as feebly defended by Dr. Milles. They are derived from *calco*, *calcare*, to kick or spurn with the foot; of the same family as *calcation* and *occulcation; calcatio* and *occulcatio*, a treading or spurning with the foot. See Blount's Glossographia; to *conculcate*, to tread under foot. Caulking the seams in the bottom of a ship is derived from the act of forcing in oakum by repeated smart strokes with a mallet and a blunt chissel, an operation which may with the strictest propriety be called calking or kicking; and *calked* might in this sense have been introduced by the author of these Poems, whether ancient or modern, on his own authority. To *calk* is, in Fenning's Dictionary, to stop the seams of a ship with oakum, &c. The edgings of iron which in the north of England are nailed to the bottoms of wooden cloggs, are called calkers or caulkers, from the same idea of kicking or *calking*. Therefore

"Calked from erthe these Norman Hyndes shal bee"

is exactly the same as kicked or spurned from earth.

The reader will pardon the otherwise unnecessary prolixity of this explanation,

when he calls to mind that Mr. T. founded one of his most violent objections to the authenticity of the Poems, on a notion that Chatterton had misunderstood Skinner's *calked, cast up*, for *cast out*; because Chaucer has the words "full subtilly he had calked," for calculed, or calculated: The futility of the objection is evident.

"*MY SONNE ALLEYNE.*"

Mr. Tyrwhitt has committed as palpable an error in his criticism on the phrase "my sonne alleyn." "Granting (says he) *alleyn* to be rightly *put* for *alone*, no ancient writer, I apprehend, ever used such a phrase as this, any more than we should now say *my son alone* for *my only son*."

It is extremely improbable that this modern Scotticism, which does not mean my only son, could either have dropped accidentally from the pen of Chatterton, or, have been designedly introduced by him in imitation of old English. The meaning is this. My son lies dead *alone*—by himself, separated from his family; at a distance, where they had not the consolation to have administered any comfort or assistance to him, or any proper attention to his corps. All this is implied in the word alleyn; and the line ought to be thus read,

"My sonne! my sonne! alleyn ystorven ys."

The precise idea appears to have been caught by Mrs. Cowley in her beautiful monody on the supposed author:

> "No sorrowing friend, no sister, parent, nigh,
> *Alone*, unknown, the muses darling dies,
> And with the vulgar dead unnoted lies!
> Bright star of genius!—torn from life and fame,
> My tears, my verse, shall consecrate thy name.

Notwithstanding the coincidence of sentiment is here very strong, Mrs. Cowley will be readily acquitted of the charge of imitation. It is the sentiment of nature which breaks forth in similar language on every similar occasion. Witness the pathetic effusion of C. W. Janson, Esq. on viewing the remains of some of the British heroes who fell at Bunker's Hill. "Gallant! but unfortunate men! no weeping relative, no beloved wife, no fond sister, no dutiful child, was at hand, to close your eyes in death! *Separated* by the wide Atlantic from all the objects of earthly affection, ye had no friends to superintend your obsequies, or to drop the tributary tear on your untimely graves!"—Stranger in America, p. 27. As little reason have we to suppose that Mr. Janson was imitating Mrs. Cowley.

That *alleyn* is in this line a modern Scotticism, will be evident from the following beautiful address of Robert Burns to the mountain daisy.

" The flaunting flowers our gardens yield
High shelt'ring woods and was (walls) maun shield,
But thou beneath the random bield
O clod or stane
Adorns the histye stubble field
Unseen, *alane*."*

The 289th line of the Tragical Interlude of Ella gives us the most convincing proof that the author annexed this idea; viz. *separate* to the word alleyn,

" Ne schalle the wind upon us blowe alleyne."

In the following lines from the Minstrelsy of the Scotish Border the same occurs, but in a sense somewhat different. Vol. 1, p. 177.

" As I was walking mine *alane*,
It was by the dawning of the day;
I heard twa brithers make their mane,
And I listened weil to what they did say.

But a question here very naturally arises. How was Rowley, a native, as we are told, of Somersetshire, and an inhabitant of Bristol, to make use of a modern Scotticism? The answer as naturally follows,—because a modern Scotticism is an ancient Anglicism. Were it necessary, a thousand† instances might easily be produced. Whoever has a doubt of this may soon be con-

* The word *lane* in English is undoubtedly of similar origin, implying a path or passage so narrow as to render it necessary for passengers to go *alane* or alone.

† Sore is modern English, sare is Scotch.—Chaucer has sare for sore. Head is modern English, heed, Scotch; Chaucer has hede or heed, for head; so that a sare hede is a modern Scotticism and an ancient Anglicism To take heed is good English, derived from the Saxon *hedan*, to mind or

vinced by reading half a dozen pages of Dunbar's Poems; or, let him put a volume of Chaucer or any other old English writer, into the hands of an intelligent Scotch gardener, who will have little occasion for a glossary to explain the real old English words and phrases; though he may frequently require it for the affected Frenchified ones. Chaucer has been censured by Verstegan as a corruptor, rather than an illuminator of the English tongue. "Some few ages after came the poet Jeffrey Chaucer, who, writing his Poesies in English, is of some called the first illuminator of the En-

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make use of the head; and a heedless man is either English or Scotch, but a heedelesse pin would now scarcely be understood on this side of the Tweed.

The following instances of the verb *condescend* are taken from English writers; although in senses now peculiar to North Britain. "His request they condescended to." i. e. agreed to: Verstegan, P. 116. "Thus this sight could not inform him whether the arrow should be shot in him dead or alive; neither could he *condescend* whether near or afar off." Aubrey's Miscellanies.

The word *mean* is now always used in the plural with an adjective singular by the best English writers, although ungrammatically. Thus Atterbury, "employed as *a means* of doing good." This never offends an English ear, to which *a mean*, or *the mean*, would be intolerable; exactly as *a means* appears barbarous to the Scotch. Yet so late as Lord Verulam's time, it was very common for English writers to say *a mean*. See his Life of Henry the VIIth passim. It occurs in Drayton's Polyolbion.

"They humblie him desire that he *a meane* would bee,
From those imperious Greeks, his countrymen to free." Page 9.

And in the following lines of Shakspeare, if he really wrote Titus Andronicus,

"Fair Philomela, she but lost her tongue,
And in a tedious sampler sew'd her mind:
But lovelie niece that *mean* is cut from thee."

From an affectation of correctness, this Scotticism may be occasionally noticed in the Sermons and Essays of a few English writers, but it is very few.

glish tongue: Of their opinion I am not; (though I reverence Chaucer as an excellent poet for his time) he was indeed a great mingler of English with French, unto which language by like, for that he was descended of French, or rather Wallon race, he carried a great affection." Verstegan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities, &c. page 203.

The testimony of Mr. Rymer in a fanciful panegyric on Chaucer, confirms the censure of Verstegan. "Chaucer threw in Latin, French, Provençal, and other languages: like *new stum* to raise a fermentation." See his Short View of Tragedy.

This may perhaps be pretty as a simile, but as an argument it is ridiculous; for Sir Hugh Evans and Dr. Caius, would be equally entitled to the compliment.

It may here be remarked, that the late Mr. Tyrwhitt's notions of the old English language were almost wholly drawn from Chaucer; yet these pages will shew numerous instances of his negligence and inattention to the *confirmations* of the language attributed to Rowley, which may be fairly deduced from misinterpretations even of that author, of whose works he was an applauded editor. In the following instance he has compleatly misconceived the meaning both of his own author Chaucer,

and the explanation of Skinner; and then applies his accumulated blunder to the detection of what he erroneously calls a mistake of Chatterton.

"*SHAP.*"

"I never was able (says Mr. T.) to conceive how *shap*, should have been used in the English language to signify *fate*, till I observed the following article in Skinner: Shap—now is my shap.—Nunc mihi *fato* præstitutum est: (i. e.) now is it shapen to me. Ab. a. s. sceapan, &c." "I suppose (he adds) the word *fato* in the Latin led Chatterton to understand *now is my shap*, to mean *now is my fate*. The passage to which Skinner refers, is in the Knight's Tale of Chaucer:

> "Now is *me shape* eternally to dwelle
> Not only in purgatorie but in helle."

But first let it be observed, there is a high degree of improbability, in supposing that Chatterton could apply the word *fato* to *shap*. It seems strange for any one to assert that a person entirely unacquainted with Latin, as he was, should have known that *fato* in this explanation of Skinner, really does apply to the old English word shap fate. *Now is my shap* in Chaucer and

in Skinner means, now is my fate, or nunc mihi fato præstitutum est. But since Mr. T. has made a verb of the substantive shape, and has explained it in a somewhat different sense, it may be necessary to produce authorities less objectionable than either Skinner or Kersey, for rendering it fate. Mr. T. understands the two words *me shape* to mean, now is it shapen to me, ab Anglo-Saxon, sceapan, &c. A construction only to be accounted for, by supposing him to have been a stranger to the northern dialect; which corresponds in a remarkable manner at this day with that of the old English contemporary, with Chaucer, or the supposed Rowley. Me hat, me shoe, or me horse, occur in common conversation for my hat, my shoe, or my horse; and it is in this manner that Chaucer, or some of his transcribers, have written, now is me shape, or shap, for, now is my shape* eternally to dwelle, &c. It is in some editions only, that the *e* final is added to *shap*, which gives it less the appearance of a substantive; and which led Mr. T. away from the true meaning of *shap*, *fate*, or *destiny*, agreeable to Kersey.

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* Exactly in the same way Shakspeare wrote *me* Lord for *my* Lord, in a passage which I cannot at present recollect; which mislead the commentators, who supposed the meaning to be not *my Lord*, but, me! Lord!

The substantive *shap*, *fate*, seldom occurs in Chaucer; but his *shapen* will almost always bear to be translated *fated*: e. g. "shapen was my dethe erst than my shert;" which is a punning or playing upon the double meaning of *shapen*, *shaped*, *fated*, or *created*. When a thing is *shapen* it shall be." C. T. 1468 "To *shapen* that they shall not die."

Verstegan, in the 222 page of his Restitution, has clearly explained this, in noticing the word gescefang a *shaping* or creation; "Whereas we now say in our English crede, Creator, or Maker of heaven and earth; our old English ancestors said, Sceaper of heofen and earth. Of the word sceap, we have derived our word shape, which we now only take for the form or fashion, whereas it anciently signifieth making or creation."

Thus in a poem of the fifteenth century, by Julian Barnes, vide Ritson's Ancient Songs, p. 91, *shope* occurs in the sense ascribed to it by Verstegan.

"Our Lorde that *shope* (created) bothe sonne and mone,"

See also Canterbury Tales:

"Grisilde of this godwote full innocent,
That for her *shapen* was all this arraie."

"Alas she says that ever I was *yshape* (fated)
To marry a milk sop or a coward ape.

Monke's Tale.

"My destinie hath *shaped* so full yore."
Comp. of Annelida.

"I see therefore to *shape* my dethe
She cruely is prest. (ready)
Reliq of A P. v. 2, p. 65.

"These queens were as two Goddesses
Of art magicke sorceresses
Thei couthe muche, he couthe more:
Thei *shape* and *cast* agenst him sore,
And wrought many a subtle wile,
But yet thei might him not begyle."
Gower, l. 5, fol. 135, p. 1, col. 2

"Thus hath Lycurgus his wylle
And toke his leave, and forth he went
But list now well to what intent
Of rightwisnesse he did so.
For after that he was ago,
He *shope* (i. e. did fate) him never to be found."
Gower, l. 7, f. 158, p. 2, col. 1.

These are so many instances of its occurring as a verb, *to fate*, or *fated*; the following must be admitted as the noun substantive fate.

Lidgate, in his story of Thebes, after mentioning the *calculation* of the Astronomiens, that Œdipus should slay his own father, adds,

"There may no man help it ne excuse
On which thing the king gan sore muse
And *cast* he would on that other side
Agane her (their) doome, for himselfe provide
Shape alway, and remedie to forne."

That is, provide fate for himself *against* the doom which they the Astronomiens had threatened him with.

In Chaucr's House of Fame, l. 3, we have the following passage:

> " When I was from the eagle gone,
> I gan beholde upon this place,
> And certain or I farther passe
> I woll you all the *shappe* devyse (fate)
> Of house and city."

In the Reliques of Old English Poetry, vol. 1, p. 28, Chev. Chace; there is the following passage:

> " The Percye and the Douglass mette,
> That either of other was faine,
> The *swapped* together, while that they swatte
> With swoards of ffyne collayne."

Dr. P. in a note informs us that the MS reads *schapped*; which he ought to have retained: the *amendment* is similar to many which have been obtruded upon the readers of Shakspeare. The author meant that the two combatants tried their schappe or fate one against the other. The sentiment is nearly similar to the following in the tournament, where Berghamme calls to Bourtonne to begin quickly, " And wrynn thie shappe or mine." That is, display thie fate or mine. To say that two combatants *schapped* together, conveys precisely the same idea as that they *fortuneyed*.

> " Thus with care, sorrow, and *tene* am I shapt (fated)
> Mine end with death to make."
>
> Testament of Love

"Shopen me to dwell in this pynand prison till
Lacheses my threade no longer would twine."

Ib. 3.

Some doubt may probably been tertained respecting the meaning of shappe in the following lines of Chaucer's Compl. of Mar. Magd. I am much inclined to think it means *fate*; as *shape* following immediately after *form*, would be tautology.

"Within mine hert is impressed ful sore
His royal forme, *his shappe*, his semelines.
His porte, his chere, his godenes evermore,
His noble persone, with al gentilnes.

A confirmation of *shape* fate may be detected in the following passage of Shakspeare, which has been quoted and repeated a thousand times without being thoroughly understood.

"I rather would entreat thy company
To see the wonders of the world abroad,
Than living dully sluggardis'd at home,
Wear out thy youth with *shapeless* idlenesse."

Query.—What is shapeless idleness?—I now answer with much confidence; shapeless i. e. fortuneless or luckless idleness—idleness to which no good luck, fortune, or *fate* can be attached.

"Shapeless idleness (says Dr. Warburton) is fine, as implying, that idleness prevents the giving any form or character to

the manners." How little did he know of the fine meanings of Shakspeare!

Palpable as this mistake appears to me, it has been dignified by the adoption of the celebrated author of Lewesden Hill, in the following elegant passage.

> ——————— "so methinks,
> Even so, sequester'd from the noisy world,
> Could I wear out this transitory being
> In peaceful contemplation and calm ease.
> But conscience, which still censures on our acts,
> That awful voice within us, and the sense
> Of an hereafter, wake and rouse us up
> From such *unshaped* retirement."

Would that every other ingenious misconception of our immortal bard's meanings had been consecrated in a similar manner! But since the author has borrowed the expression from Shakspeare, the reader has a right to understand it in Shakspeare's sense: viz. Retirement deservedly unattended with any good fate or fortune; and this may perhaps be admitted as a notable instance of a commentator discovering a fine meaning to which the author was himself a stranger.

This is not the only instance in which Shakspeare has made use of shape for fate.

> "Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well,
> When our deep plots do pall: and that should teach us
> There's a Divinity that *shapes* our ends,
> Rough hew them how we will."

If Dr. Farmer's ludicrous and odious anecdote of the Butcher and his skewers be worthy of any notice, which I scarcely think it is, unless it be the notice of reprobation, we must conclude that Shakspeare, who is here alluding in a very fine strain to the superintendance of the Divinity, meant to quibble with the words *shape*, *fate*, and shape, fashion, or form. But Dr. Farmer had as little conception of the fine meaning of Shakspeare in this instance, as Dr. Warburton in the preceding.

> "There's a Divinity that *shapes* our ends,
> Rough hew them how we will."

That is, that fates or pre-ordains our ends.

The metaphor is really drawn from the woodman's labour in felling and measuring timber: every tree requires to be regularly shaped at the ends, that the true girth may be taken, and the solid contents calculated: the intermediate parts are carelessly chopped with an axe; cutting off the knots, protuberances, and branches, is called *rough hewing*. Thus it appears, that not only all nature, but every mechanical art, was subservient to the vivid imagination of Shakspeare; whose quibble with the words shape and fate, has, in this instance, a much more respectable origin than any

thing that could be drawn from the formation of a butcher's skewer.

> ——————" Let's further think of this;
> Weigh, what convenience, both of time and means,
> May fit us to our *shape*: if this should fail, &c.
> Hamlet, act iv, sc. ult.

That is, according to Dr. Johnson, " may enable us to assume proper characters, and to act our part." Shakspeare's meaning is, " may fit us to our fate:" containing at the same time another of his beloved quibbles, betwixt shape or form, and shape fate.

The reader will now be able to understand the beautiful and expressive epithet in the Letter to Cannynge, l. 3,

> " Now *shapelie* poesie hast loste ytts powers,
> And pynant hystorie ys onlie grace."

Shapelie poesie: i. e. *creative* poesy, which neither Chatterton, Tyrwhitt, Warton, Milles, Bryant, nor any other commentator, did or could explain, previous to the establishment of shap or shape as an authentic noun substantive, meaning *fate*, or a verb, *to create.* It is exactly in the same sense Shakspeare makes use of *shaping* fantasies.

> " Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,
> Such *shaping* fantasies." (creating fantasies or imagination.s)

Shall we still be told in answer to all this, that Chatterton made use of the epithet by accident; or, that by accident, he contrasted it so inimitably with *pynant* history, a word equally expressive, and equally unintelligible to him and his fellow labourers?

If one more authority were necessary, I would refer to Mr. T. himself; who has thus rendered the *now is me shape* of Chaucer, and the *nunc mihi fato præstitutum est* of Skinner, by "now is it shapen to me." *Shapen*, in this translation, clearly signifies, now is it *fated* to me; or, now is it ordained to me by fate. Is it possible to translate "now is my fate" into Latin, by a better or closer phrase, than *nunc mihi fato præstitutum est?*

I cannot conclude this long disquisition on the word shappe fate, without requesting the reader to keep in mind, that it is not offered as any material argument in favour of the antiquity or authenticity of the Poems attributed to Rowley, because Bailey's, Cole's, or Kersey's excellent little Dictionary might have been in the hands of Chatterton,* in which the word shap (o)

* I say *might* have been, because had he really been in possession of that Dictionary when he wrote the scanty glossary, he would undoubtedly have explained *swarthe* and *swarthless*; and blake, yellow. *Swartheynge* no Dictionary would have enabled him to explain properly; but swarthe demanded explanation as much as any word in the Poems.

fate was ready for his use, either for the explanation or fabrication of his Poems, without the necessity of his recurring to Skinner; whose Dictionary he is well known to have returned to its owner in forty-eight hours; "for being in Latin it was of no use to him." But it is hoped, that this disquisition will induce every future examiner of the Poems, to attend to the arguments, and not to the assertions, of the late Mr. Tyrwhitt.

"*EVERYCH EYNE.*"

None of Mr. T.'s objections have had greater weight than the following; yet he has offered none more futile or erroneous.

"In everych eyne aredynge nete of wyere."

"Eyne, a contraction of eyen is the plural for eye. It is not more probable that an ancient writer should have used the expression here quoted, than that any one now should say, *in every eyes.*"

This grand objection becomes a powerful confirmation of the antiquity and authenticity of Rowley's Poems. In the first place, it was exceedingly improbable that Chatterton could have been guilty of such an *apparent* offence against grammar; for he knew, as well as Mr. T. that eyne was the plural of eye: nor is it very probable that *he* should have known, since Mr. T.

did not, that *every* was anciently often used as the plural of *each*; and, consequently, that every eyne, or everych eyne, is exactly the same as all eyes. There is the following passage in Maplet's Greene Foreste, fol. 44, on the article garlick. "The best that it hath is, that it is good of encrease for *everie and eache* coat of his set in the garden or otherwhere, will soon come up and much prosper." In Arnold's Chronicle we read of "everiche customes:" and there is an old black letter pamphlet, entitled "The Seeing of Urines, in which may be observed *everie humours*:" vid. fol. 22, "severally to treat of everie humours."

The following quotation will shew that our ancient poets made use of *everie* in a different manner from what is common at present; sometimes it expresses the singular number, sometimes the plural: and here where Richarde Robinson, in his Rewarde of Wickednesse, describes the situation of Helen in the Stygian Lake, it may signify each side, or both sides, each hand or both hands.

"For in a boate berent on *everye* side
(And as I sayde) shee sittes, in every hand an oare
And stryveth styll betweene the winde and tide
Nowe haling from the rockes, and by and by from shore
The choice is harde when this refuge is best
To toyle amid these flaming flooddes as shee:
Or else t'arrive amid the serpentes nest
For on the lande with blades the tyrantes bee."

Anno. 1547, Bl. L.

"And everie man took *their* horses and rode strait to Esher."
Holinshed, vol. ii, p. 809.

The following passage is decisive.

"As to arms used by Lawyers, Judges, and Masters of the Rolles, let those who desire to behold them repayre to the Rolles Chapel and to Serjeantes Inn wyndowes, and they shall see *every arms* with *theyre* motto, according as the owners of them weere affected, yea, and sometymes qualifyed with gifts of nature and wit."
Vid. Hearne's Collections, v. i, p. 263.

"With a bishop on every hand of him."
Hall.

See also Londinium Redivivum, v. i. p. 15, "every inhabitantes."
Or see the Rewarde of Wickednesse:

"With a pitifull lookes his hande forth did stretche."

Or see Phaer's Virgil:

"The cattell roaryng cryed, and *every woods* with bellowing fill'd."
Book viii, page 7.

Even Addison compares a ragged coin to *a* tattered colours.

I cannot believe that Chatterton was better acquainted with this peculiarity of the old English language than Mr. Tyrwhitt, who, had he been now living, must have admitted that "every customes," "every humours," "every inhabitantes," "every woods," and "every arms," compleatly establish the propriety of every eyne; a grammatical *error* which the most correct English writers still retain in the phrase of "every means."

When Ælla therefore exclaims that he perceives the flame of valour and myghte, in the eyes of his soldiers, we are prepared to read the following line without hesitation.

"In everie eyne I kenne the *lowe* (flame) of myghte."

That is, he perceives, from the effect of his very animating speech, the flame of valour kindled in all their eyes, or in every look; for we shall find as we proceed, that *eyne* sometimes conveyed the idea of a look of the eyes, an eyen or eying, as *eye* in the singular still does.

Mr. T. has given a list of sixty-nine words or phrases in his Appendix, to which on various accounts he objects: there are very few of these which are now unauthenticated. It would be tedious to discuss them all here; but with a view still further to convince the reader how little dependence can be placed on that great critic's judgment or experience, some of those, which have been considered by him and others as peculiarly suspicious, shall now be explained:

ALYNE.

Chatterton, as a conjectural explanation, says, that he slung the bow "*across his shoulders.*"

"Wythe murther tyred he slynges his bowe *alyne*."

Mr Tyrwhitt pronounces it to be a word not used by any other writer; and in the new edition of the Poems it is said to be "unauthorised and unintelligible." It is one of the old Norman French words, probably imported by William the Conqueror, and is derived from aligné. m. ée, made straight as a line.—Cotgrave. It was the peculiar property of a good bow, particularly the long bow, which is here spoken of, to return by its elasticity to a straight line, immediately upon being unbent: therefore, "he slynges his bowe alyne," means that he unbent his bow, and slung it straight as a line; and probably for convenience of carriage, as Chatterton informs us, "across his shoulders." This sense of the word is very far from being obsolete: every volunteer in this kingdom now knows that when a batallion takes a new *alignement*, it either is, or ought to be made as straight as a line. This last word then is not a modern French phrase, but one that has been long naturalized in this country; and we are now indebted to Rowley's Poems for thoroughly understanding it.

ALYSE.

"Somme drybblette share you shoulde to that *alyse.*"
Letter to Mr. Cannynge, l. 29.

"Fulle twentye mancas I wille thee *alyse.*"
Goddwyn, l. 180.

Alyse is derived from the Anglo-Saxon alýꝛan redimere, liberare, solvere; and occurs in these Poems in each of these senses, as well as in that of *to allow*. "Full twenty mancas I will pay thee." Authority, vide Benson's Vocab. Anglo-Sax. alýꝛendlic solutorious. "Somme drybblette share you shoulde to that alyse." (allow) Authority, alised (o) allowed, Kersey.

"And on hym laye the recer's luke warm cosre,
That alured could not himself *aluste*."

That is, that alured could not extricate, liberate, or deliver himself from the superincumbent weight of the horse. The word is derived from alýꝛan liberare or to-lýꝛan solvere, extricare. The Lord's Prayer in the Saxon tongue will shew that alyse has this sense. Ac alýꝛe uꝛ ꝓam yꝛele *libera* nos a malo, *deliver* us from evil. ἀλλά λῦσαί ἡμας εἰς τȣ πονηρȣ. Or it may be be still better authenticated by a reference to the Vita Sanctæ Margaritæ, v. i, p. 226, of Dr. Hickes's Thesaurus; a poem which that learned man thus characterises. "*Normanno-Saxonicum omnium longe nobilissimum specimen.*"

Đe meiđan him anſweređe. aſe ỳe angel hire kenđe.
Ye đeđen him on Rođe al chriſtine folc ta menđe.
Ant ſeỳen into helle. ỳe holi Goſt he senđe.
To aleſen chriſtine men."

Sax. leſen, alýſan liberare, to redeem.

The reader will pay more attention to that noble specimen of Normanno-Saxonic poetry, if he credit the assertion that it was written by Turgotus, the alleged original author of the Battle of Hastings; and he may perhaps find, that although written nearly seven hundred years since, it has a little of the smoothness and cadence of Anstey's Bath Guide.

In the 277th line of Ælla the same word occurs in the sense of redeem:

> "I speke mie Loerde, alleyne to upryse
> Youre wytte from marvelle, and the warriour to *alyse*."

Ælla in the preceding speech had complained of his cruel fate, being torn from his bride on the night of his marriage: and seems to waver in his resolution of marching immediately in search of the invaders. Celmonde speaks to rouse him and to *redeem* the warriour from the dishonourable sentiment which seems to occupy his mind. That *redeem* was used in this sense by our old dramatic writers is evident from the following lines of Massinger.

> "Rest confident, you shall hear something of me
> That will *redeem* me in your good opinion."
> Ranegado, act iii, sc. 2.

> "I know not what to urge, or how to *redeem*
> This mortgage of her honour."
> Mass. Picture, act v. sc. 2.

Benson's Vocab. Anglo-Sax. affords an authority; for there we find alẏred redemptus. And this sense of alyse may also be observed in that charming Soliloquy, Ælla, line 390, where Celmonde, who in a fit of despair, in the first scene, unfolds his black design of poisoning Ælla, Birtha, and himself, recovers a glympse of hope, that in the ensuing battle Ælla may be slain, and an oportunity afforded for himself to obtain Birtha.

> "I see onnombered joies arounde mee ryse;
> Blake stondethe future doome, and joie dothe me *alyse*."

That is, and joy *redeems* me from the fatal resolution. It is left to other philologers to explain how this word comes to be intimately connected with the Greek ἐμε λύσομαι me redimam. Mr. T.'s notion therefore, that Chatterton mistook Skinner's Gothic f for a long ſ and read alised for alifed is unworthy of any further attention: and the same may be said of his reading and, Mr. Briant approving of ajust for aluste. In the first B. of Hastings, line 88.

> "And on hym laie the recer's lukewarm corse,
> That alured coulde not hymself *aluste*."

For Mr. Ellis in his Specimens of Early English Poetry, vol. i, page 281, gives us the following passage in which *yluste* is

used nearly in the same sense as Rowley's aluste—

> "Ther was many heved of weved,
> And many to the middle cleved;
> And many of his horse *ylust.*

That alured could not himself aluste, is the same as that alured could not get himself aluste: i. e. released. That critic must know little of the practice of our old poets who hesitates to admit this inaccuracy, where the double object of rhime and measure is concerned. To use the words of honest Chapman, our interpreters are here standing pedantically on the grammar and words, utterly ignorant of the sense and grace of the author

Mr. T. at p. 327 of his appendix, objects to *burly* large, and *burled* armed. Instead of crouding the page by quoting his objections at length, the reader shall be presented with the following confirmations of both:

> "Her taile burled (armed) with scales silver shene
> The venim was so piercing and so kene
> Lidgate, vid. Islip's Ed. of Ch. fol. 368, l. 33, col. 2.

> "Than out thai raid all to a randam right
> This courtlie king, and all his comlie host;
> His burlie bainer braithit up on hicht."
> Bish. Doug. King Hart. sect. xxviii.

If authorities from English authors be more satisfactory, Drayton in his Poly-ol-

bion speaks of *burly* stacks; meaning large ricks. In Sir John Harington's Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii, p. 96, we read of *burly* trees: "If famed Orphæn harp could rivers cause to stand at wanton gaze and pause, or beasts and *burly* trees make dance in antic revelry.—The quotation from Lidgate is perfectly satisfactory: yet Mr. T. in his answer to Milles and Bryant, p. 165, says, "I am still much inclined to believe that there is no such word as *burled*, armed." Burra is a common word for *great* in Bengal.

Mr. T.'s objection to burly bronde for great fury is equally futile. He admits that burly bronde may be proper for a great sword; he ought to have known that a sword was called a bronde metaphorically, from the flash of drawn swords being comparable to the flame of fire brands. And we are thus able to remove his objection to bronde for fury, because bronde has the same metaphorical affinity with fury, that fury, or even the Latin furor, rage, has with fire, or fiery. Mr. Tyrwhitt is therefore not warranted in asserting that Kersey had made a mistake in giving *great fury* as one sense of burly-brand; nor is there any reason for supposing Chatterton to have copied such a mistake.

ARROWE-LEDE.

The arrowe-lede is objected by Mr. Tyrwhitt on the same account as the words already enumerated. It has by some judicious but anonymous commentator been supposed to mean the *path* of the arrow. from the Saxon *lade* iter, a path. Perhaps more likely from ledan ducere. The *soundeynge* arrowe-lede merits equal attention. We are told by the ingenious Mr. Strutt, vol. i, page 50, that "arrowes were sometimes contrived so as to make a *loud whistling* in their flight by "*crafte of the heade.*" Could any modern author have attended to, and anticipated minutiæ like these, merely to legitimate a casual epithet? The *soundeynge* arrowe lede—the sounding *path* of the arrow? or possibly the sounding noise of the arrow. Drayton mentions the ledden of the birds, for their gabble or language. Dictionaries and Glossaries consider ledden as a corruption of Latin, and I have elsewhere shewn it to be so used by Shakspeare. I apprehend, however, that it implies the unintelligible gabble or *words* of Latin; for in the Coke's Tale of Chaucer, LEDE most assuredly ought to be rendered *word*.

"Thus has wan yonge Gamelyn
His *londe* and his *lede*.

L. 1773.

That is, thus had he recovered his land and preserved his *word* with his brother. Mr. Ellis, p. 97, v. 2, of his specimens, misunderstands this word, rendering it *person*.

"For why? no *leid unliel they let*, (they, i. e. women)
Un truth expressly they expell;
Yet are they plenish'd and replete
Of falsèhood and deceit *their sell*,
So find I their affection
Contrair their own complexion."

Suffer no unloyal *person* according to Mr. E.; but it means that they suffer no unloyal *word* to be spoken. The authority of James the first is perfectly satisfactory. See his ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.—"In your language be plain, honest, naturall, comely, cleane, short, and sententious; eschewing both the extremities, as well in not using any rustical corrupt *leide*, as book language, and pen and inke-horne terms." Fol. edit. of his works, p. 183.

ASSENGLAIVE.

"But Harolds *assenglaive* stopt it as it flewe."
Hast. 1, 117.

In addition to the objections of T., Mr. Southey pronounces the assenglaive to be a word not known. It has been considered by others as a great difficulty; and perfectly Chattertonian; no such weapon being on

record. Vain attempts have been made to force an explanation, by supposing the two first syllables to mean *ashen* speare; or glave with an ashen handle. It is a compound word, and means a *provant* glave, or a glave proper for actual service in the sharpest bruntes or *assayes*, in contradistinction to the painted tilting speare, which shivered to pieces in the mock encounters of the tournament.

That an assay was a name for a sharp skirmish, may be proved by a variety of quotations from ancient authors. At fol. 128 of the pleasant History of the Conquest of the Weast India, &c. &c. translated oute of the Spanishe tongue, by T. N. (Thos. Nicholas) anno 1578, it is said of Hernando Cortes, that he was always "one of the first at any *assay* or brunt of enimies:" "and they seeying that their captayne at all *assayes* was the first himselfe, they feared the lesse the things that they imagined." Ib. fol. 165. I have the choice of twenty quotations from other writers, but more would be idle; and if the reader prefer the explanation of the *provant* sword or glave, he can be no stranger to the *assay* or *proof* of metals or arms.

——— "If you bear not
yourselves both in and upright with a *provant* sword."

And thus we find the noun substantive *assay*, a sharp fight or attack, very properly made into a verb in the Bat. of Hast. No. 2, line 285.

"Onne Algar's sheelde the arrowe did assaie."

ALEDGE.

"Lette notte thie *agreme* blyn ne *aledge* stonde."
Goddwyn, l. 5.

"Aledge, or alege, says Mr. Tyrw. in Chaucer signifies to alleviate. It is here used either as an adjective or as an adverb. Chatterton (he continues) interprets it to mean *idly*: upon what ground I cannot guess." The fact is, that Ch. knew less of its meaning than Mr. T. He made a guess at *idly*, but guessed wrong. Mr. T., however, after finding the true meaning, might have applied it properly, and have drawn a different conclusion.

Alege occurs in Cotgrave, and implies any thing that lightens or lessens care, grief, or mischief; or any thing that helps towards the bearing of a burthen.

"The sight only and the savour,
Allegged much of my languor."
R. of the Rose.

"It alleggeth well my pain." Ib.

It is used in the above line with the greatest propriety. Godwin had just com-

plained of the grievances sustained by the country from the devouring Normans, to whom "all ys graunted from the roieal honde." Harolde in reply, exhorting him to keep up his resentment, requests that he will not suffer a sense of his grievance to cease, nor to stand aledge; i. e., aledg*ed*, lessened, diminished; from the French alegé. Mr. T. must have known that the terminating of the verb in this time, without the d, is perfectly consistent with the usage of all our ancient writers.

Mr. Bryant, p. 76, v. 1, is as much mistaken, as the other commentators, respecting aledge. We find the same word in a different form, viz. leggende in the Eng. Metamorphosis, l. 32.

> "Twayne of twelve years han lemed up the myndes."
> "*Leggende* the salvage unthewes of their breste,
> Improved in *mysterk* warre, and lymmed theyre kyndes
> Whenne Brute from Brutons sonke to eterne reste."

That is, twelve years had *enlightened* their minds, *lessened* the savage bad qualities of their breasts, improved in *necessary* war, and *polished* their natures, when brute, &c. Chatterton renders leggende, *alloyed*, probably an error of the press for *allayed*, as it means like aledge, lessened; mysterk, he renders *mystic* war; and Dr. Milles, *business* or *profession* of war, as trade and handicraft, now called mysteries. The

Doctor was not aware that mysterk war is *necessary* war, frem the Anglo-Sax. myꝛtep necessitas, as we shall hereafter find the mister pilgrim, for the needy pilgrim.

Agreme is confirmed in the Complaint of Annelida:

"And do to me adversitie and grame."

ASCAUNCE.

Mr. T. in one of his learned notes, vid. p. 316 Appendix, tells us, that the usual sense of *ascaunce*, (*as if*) in Chaucer, and other old writers, has been *explained* in a note on verse 7327 of the Canterbury Tales. The more modern verb *ascaunce*, signifying *sideways*, *obliquely*, is derived from the Italian, *a schiancio*; and I doubt very much (he adds) whether it had been introduced into the English language in the time of the supposed Rowley.

Lidgate, in the poem called the Flowers, p. 16, has it with a little variation.

"Looking *ascoyne*, as she had had disdain."

"Thereat with staring eyes fixed *ascaunce*
In great disdain."

Spencer's F. Q. l. 3, cant. 7, viii

"Saving that *ascaunce* her wanton eyes did roll."

Mr. T. having withdrawn his objection to this phrase in the 34th page of his Vin-

dication of the Appendix, other quotations are now suppressed.

Such proofs of negligence on the part of Messrs. Warton and Tyrwhitt, are certainly not proofs of the antiquity or authenticity of the Poems; but, it may here, with great propriety be asked, if they contain a multiplicity of words and phrases so very obsolete, as to have been deemed, although unjustly, by those eminent critics, not to have been in use in the fifteenth century, how could an unlearned boy, situated in every respect as poor Ch. was, obtain a knowledge of them?

The answer, that he picked them up in Bailey's Dictionary, is by no means satisfactory. Bailey, Phillips, Kersey, Elisha Coles, Bulloker, Cotgrave, and Verstegan, must be all occasionally consulted by the reader of these Poems; and where they all fail, the black letter books of the sixteenth century will often afford testimony of their authenticity: and to these may be added, the colloquial language of the northern and other counties. It may therefore be fairly urged that, if the Poems be really spurious, a more artful, a more experienced, and a more learned fabricator must be pointed out; one who had been blessed with longer life, and greater leisure than he ever enjoyed. Tedious, then, as the task

may be, it seems necessary that the writer of this enquiry should persevere in his examination of the objections of Mr Tyr., he hopes that the reader who wishes to judge for himself, and not to rely on the confident assertions of others, will favour him with attention.

ABOUNDE.

"His cristedde beaver dyd hym *small abounde*."
Bat. of Hast. 1, l. 55.

"The common sense of abounde, a verb is well known: but what can be the meaning of it here? Ap. p. 315." Cotgrave, in his explanation of the word corvée, uses boon and bound, as synonymous; therefore, there need be no hesitation in understanding that the crested beaver did him small service; or, that it *abouned* him little. Small for little is a well established ancient expression. Vid. Evans' Old Ballads. "And having *small* to do." V. 1, 58. Or see the Tarquin and Lucrece of Shakspeare.

"Know gentle wench it *small* avails my mood."

Does not the word *bound*, in almost all its various inflections and usages, whether we speak of the abounding of the good things of this world, the *binding* of a garment, or

the boundary hedge, ditch, or wall of a garden or estate, imply service, benefit, preservation, or utility; evincing its derivation from, or connection with the old English word, boon, gift, or benefit?

It is scarcely necessary to add, that as a rhime to ground, the practice of every old English poet justifies the insertion of the letter d.

ADENTE.

"Untoe thie veste the rodde sonne ys *adente.*"

Æl. l. 396.

"*Adented* prowess to the gite of witte."

God. l. 32.

Adente, we are told by Mr. T., "is not used by any other writer;" but it has so much affinity with the Latin dens, dentis, a tooth, with the French adenté, m. ée, mortaised, fastened; and even with the Greek of Homer's Il. K. 475, ιμασι δεδεντο, loris *ligati* erant, that it must be admitted to be both legitimate and expressive. The author means to say, prowess or valour, being attached (adented) to the gown or garb of wisdom; again the argent horse shall *daunce* in skies:' i. e. again shall the Kentish arms derived from Hengist, flutter in the air, in our banners."

Having proved the words to be radically

genuine, it remains only to observe, that the manner in which they are applied, is as much so, as any instance that can be pointed out, in all the black lettered lore of antiquity. Adente, for adented, is perfectly correct. Attached or adented prowess to the gite of witte, for prowesse adented to the gown of wisedom, is one of the transpositions which abound in the works of prose writers, as well as poets, in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

It may therefore be said, that in this and the preceding instance, Mr. T. has raised an objection to the antiquity and authenticity of the Poems, from words and passages, which are as strongly characteristic of antiquity, as our language can afford: and has at the same time entirely disregarded the very singular expression *daunce*.—

"Agayne the argent horse shall *daunce* yn skies".

Why *daunce?* Verstegan informs us that "Hingistus was doubtlesse a prince of the chiefest blood and nobility of Saxony;" "His wepon or arms being a *leaping* white horse or hengst, in a read field; or according to our mixed manner of blazing arms, a horse *argent*, *rampant*, in a field gules." Hengist was established by Vortigern in the county of Kent; and hence these arms are

accounted for." Restitut. of Decayed Intelligence, p. 120.

Mr. Bryant has told us that "*adented prowess* being put absolute and independent, is uncommon, and contrary to grammatical construction." He ought to have added, which is a strong argument in favour of the antiquity and authenticity of the work, and an objection to the claim of Chatterton; who can scarcely be supposed to have hit upon the ablative absolute, and the salient or leaping, dancing, argent horse, without a degree of attention, inconsistent with the casual nature and application of a mere epithet. Mr. B. gives some ingenious reasons for reading adent*eth* instead of adent*ed*; but I do not think them conclusive. Vid. p. 152, v. 1.

The author's command of language appears in the first Bat. of Hast. l. 196.

"On *dented* launce he bore the harte awaie."

That is, not pointed, as rendered by Dr. Milles, but jagged, or *bruised*, battered launce. It occurs in the last sense in Heywood's "Woman Killed with Kindness."

——— "Ay and they caper,
But not without cutting; you shall see to-morrow
The hall-flour, peck'd and *dented* like a millstone
Made with their high shoes; tho' their skill be small,
Yet they tread heavy where their hob nails fall."
Old Plays, v. 4, p. 91.

ALMER.

"Where from the hailstone could the *almer* flie."
B. of Char. l. 20.

Almer, for a beggar, is objected to by Mr. T., who probably did not recollect that every religious mendicant was both a craver and a distributor of alms; therefore, in every sense of the word, entitled to the appellation of an almer.

ASTERTE.

"You have there worth asterte."
Goddwyn, l. 137.

"I despair of finding any authorised sense of the word *asterte*, that will suit this passage. It cannot, I think, signify *neglected* or *passed by*, as Chatterton has rendered it." App. p. 316.

"And it to telle I maye not asterte."
Lidgate, vid. Islip's ed. of Chaucer, f. 371.

"Giff ye a goddesse be, and that ye like
To do me payne, I may it not *asterte*."
Anno 1407. Sib. Chron. v. 1, p. 20.

None of Mr. Tyrwhitt's references in his Glossary to Chaucer, will justify Lidgate or Rowley's sense of asterte; which is thus confirmed in Sibbald's Chron. Mr. T. persevered in his objection, in the vindication of his Appendix, p. 35,

AUMERE.

"Depycte with skylled honde uponn thie wyde *aumere.*"
Ælla, l. 398.

"And eke the grounde was dyghte in its *mose* defte aumere."
Bal. of Char. 7.

"Dame Agnes, who lyes ynne the chyrche
With birlette golde,
Wythe gelten *aumeres* stronge *ontolde*, &c.
Ecl. 3, l. 25.

Mr T. has two notes on aumere, App. p. 316 and 326, conceiving that it means a purse of silk. Dr. M. asserts that he misunderstood the passage, not only in Chaucer, but in the original. Junius renders aumere, fimbria, a fringe; and Chaucer, in the R. of the R., directing a gallant "to wear streight gloves with aumere of silk," meant gloves with silk fringe; for there was nothing in the streight glove, without the fringe, that would be particularly ornamental and characteristic of a gallant or coxcomb. A fringed border, or a fringed robe, would have been better than Chatterton's *loose* robe; or than his borders of gold or silver: but he seems to have understood the word better than Mr. Tyrwhitt.

The propriety of *depycte* for depycted, and skilled for skillful, and the very curious superlative of *mose* for most, might have been noticed. It shall be hereafter shewn

that *ontolde* is one of the numerous authentic and ancient words, which have escaped the vigilance of all the commentators; and which Mr. T. has erroneously pronounced to be arbitrary fabrications of Chatterton.

BLAKE.

"Whanne autumpne *blake* and sonne brente doe appere."
Ælla 178.

"*Blake* stondethe future doome, and joie doth mee alyse."
Ib. 407.

"Blake, in old English may signify either *black*, or *bleak*. Chatterton in both these passages renders it naked, and in the latter, some such signification seems absolutely necessary to make any sense. Appendix, p. 317."

Blake certainly means *naked* in some passages in these Poems; and is so explained by Kersey, Coles, and Bayley; but it also means *yellow*, and ought to have been so explained in the first of the above lines, by Ch. Butter, remarkably yellow in spring, is, in the north of England, said to look *blake*, and is esteemed in consequence of that colour. Ray, in his Collection of Old English Proverbs, gives the following, in this form: "as *blake* (i. e. yellow) as a paigle:" a provincial word still in use for a cowslip. *Yellow* autumn has

been a favourite epithet with every poet. Thus Thomson's Aut. l. 1320.

"When autumn's *yellow* lustre gilds the world."

which might have been enumerated amongst the marks of coincidence of expression.

"When autumne *blake* and sonne brente doe appere
With his *goulde honde*, guyltynge the falleynge leafe,
Bryngynge oppe wynterr to folfylle the yere,
Beerynge uponne hys backe the *riped* shefe."

The gold hand, gilding the falling leaf, shews the propriety of blake, yellow, as an epithet for autumn, which the poet could not have called *naked*, at the moment he was enumerating its teeming productions; such as the riped shefe, the fayre apple rudde as even skye, the *joicie* peres, and the berries of black dye. The epithet *naked* would have agreed much better with *bleak* winter, "When the trees are all *bare*, not a leaf to be seen." "Not yet *ryped*" is the orthography of T. Phainell, in his translation of Sir Ulricke Hutton's curious book De Morbo Gallico, fol. 71, anno 1536. Joyceless, is the spelling of the old poem of Romeus and Julietta.

If Mr. T. had been acquainted with this old word, he might, as he also ranked in the number of Shaksperian commentators, have thrown light upon the following pas-

sage in the Two Gentlemen of Verona. Act iv.

> " When she did think my master lov'd her well,
> She, in my judgment was as fair as you ;
> But since she did neglect her looking-glass,
> And threw her sun-expelling mask away,
> The air hath starv'd the roses in her cheeks,
> And *pinch'd* the lilly-tincture of her face,
> That now she is become as *black* as I."

Warburton, Johnson, Steevens, &c. have long, and unsatisfactory notes on this passage. Warburton alters *pinch'd* to *pitched*; i. e. as black as pitch !! Dr. Johnson laughs at the idea of a face being *pitch'd* by the weather. Mr. Steevens, agreeably to his usual mode, produces a quotation which he does not understand. [Cleopatra.] " I that am with Phœbus *pinches black*." All these ingenious difficulties are instantly removed by reading, which, I have no doubt Shakspeare wrote, as *blake*, i. e. as yellow, brown, sun-burnt, or tann'd, as I ; the immediate consequence of her having thrown her sun-expelling mask away ; the mask which she had worn to prevent being tann'd. We are thus informed, in the language of poetry, that the lady's face was *pinch'd* or *painted* yellow: and this sense of pinch'd is, perhaps, confirmed in the fourth line of the Epistle to Cannynge :

> " Lyche *peyncted* tylting speares to please the syghte."

Or in the excelente Balade of Charitie;

"And his *pencte* gyrdle met with mickle shame."

I am aware that the authority of Rowley will be deemed by many worse than equivocal; I shall therefore refer to Cotgrave. Peinct. m. cte. f. peinted, portrayed, limmed, spotted, speckled, coloured or set in lively colours. Pentland frith is a corruption of peincte-land, as that is synonymous with pict-land. If the ch in pinch'd be pronounced hard, it becomes pink'd, which is also synonymous with Cotgrave's peinct: and rose-*pink*, a peculiar kind of pigment, assimilates pink with paint; which may be further illustrated by the northern trivial names of certain pictæ volucres; viz. the goudy or goldy spink: i. e. the gold-finch, the green spink or green-finch, and the silver spink or chaff-finch. Spink is the softening of pink; and finch has been formed in the same manner, from pinch; so that there can be little doubt of this word having been occasionally pronounced hard or soft in the collisions of colloquial intercourse: pink or spink, pinch or finch. Gold pink naturally falls into gold spink, and gold-pinch, as naturally, into gold-finch.

No disquisition can be tedious which elucidates an obscurity of Shakspeare. If we have been succesful in the first instance,

I trust we shall be equally so in the second. There is a difficulty in the Merry Wives of Windsor, act ii, sc. 2, on which many pages of commentary have been wasted. Falstaff.—"To your manor of *pickt* hatch go." Theobald tells us that pickt hatch was a noted place for thieves and pick-pockets. All the editors join in this; and it is curious to see the various quotations, reasonings, and engravings which have been adduced: yet pickt hatch meant nothing more, in the days of Shakspeare, than the *painted* half-door of *any* bawdy house. Had there been a particular street, or place so called, it would have been found in Howel's Londinopolis, or Malcolm's Londinium Redivivum, or Stowe's Survey. When Falstaff tells his fellows to go to their manor of pickt hatch, he means to tell them to turn bullies to bawdy houses, or houses distinguished by a painted half door or hatch; perhaps a door chequered as the windows of plebeian ale-houses still are in London, and anciently were, in the towns of Herculaneum and Pompei: and hence may also be deduced, the red lattice, or bawdy house phrases of the same character. Any quarter of the town where bawdy houses abounded might have been designated by the title of pickt-hatch.

Had Mr. T. understood this meaning of

blake, he might, perhaps, have given an explanation of it in the following lines in the Test. of Cresside, l. 255.

> " Next after him come Lady Cynthia.
> The laste of al, and swiftist in her sphere,
> Of colour *blake*, buskid with hornis twa,
> And in the night she listeth best t'apere,
> Hawe as the *leed* of colour nothing clere,
> For al the light she borroweth at her brother
> Titan, for of herselfe she hath non other."

Here it must imply a burnished colour like gold, blake, or yellow; and Cleopatra's *pinches black*, are the *blake* or yellow *tinges* of the sun. A black moon is to me unintelligible, except in the case of an eclipse of the sun. " Hawe as the *leed*," applied to the moon, is obscure, like the *leden* moon of Rowley.

We may now venture to read *blake* yellow, instead of *black*, in act iii, sc. 2, of As You Like It.

> " All the pictures fairest lin'd,
> Are but *blake* to Rosalind. (blake, yellow, brown or tawny.)
> Let no face be kept in mind,
> But the *fair* of Rosalind.

An explanation of the obscure word *fair*, may be equally necessary: It means *favour*, countenance, or features of Rosalind; *fair* being the contraction of favour into one *syllable*, the same as *wher* for whether, *nerr* for nearer, *ferr* for farther: as in the Com. of Errors, act ii. sc. 1.

——— " Then is he the ground
Of my defeatures: my decayed *fair*,
A sunny look of his would soon repair."

That our author meant yellow by *blaeke* is clear, from a poem in Dr. Milles's ed. p. 434.

" Where *blaeke* Severn rolls hys tyde."

The muddy tide of the Severn could not have suggested the epithet black; but, like the yellow sea of China, is here properly denominated *blaeke*.

Mr. Tyrwhitt's objections to *blake* and *swarthe*, in the senses in which they are used by Rowley, accidentally caught my eye, before I had regularly perused a single page of the poems; they are words which, from the earliest infancy have been familiar to my ears. The reader will not wonder, therefore, that I should, from the first, have placed very little confidence in the assertions contained in the Appendix. These words are in Kersey, Coles, Bailey's, and other Dictionaries. It is more than twenty years since they were publicly explained by Dr. Milles and the anonymous author of " Observations, &c." It is therefore strange that none of the commentators on Shakspeare, or Chaucer, should, during so long a period, have anticipated me in the use of the first, viz. *blake*, *yellow*, in

expounding the various passages, which, I trust, will now obtain the concurrence of the reader, and render it almost superfluous to add the confirmation of Verstegan; who thus mentions the different surnames taken from the colour of the hair. "Some, according to the colour of their haire or *complexion;* as whyte, *bleak*, black, brown, grey and redish."

It remains only to be added, that "*blake* stondethe future doom," means naked, bare, unveiled, or clearly exposed is my future fate.

If we have proved that the *pinches* black of Cleopatra are the blake or yellow *tinges* of the sun, it will follow, that "*pinch'd* the lilly tincture of her face" is exactly synonymous with "tinged the lilly tincture of her face.

BARBED.

"Nott whan from the barbed horse, &c."
Æl. l. 27.

"Mie Lord Fadre's *barbde halle* han ne wynnynge."
Ib. 219.

"Let it be allowed, that barbde horse was a proper expression in the fifteenth century, for a *horse covered* with armour, can any one conceive that *barbed halle* signified a hall in which armour was hung?

or what sense can barbde have in this passage?" The respectable editor of the new edition of these Poems is not satisfied with Dr. Milles's Reply to this objection from Percy's Reliques.

> "With an old hall, hung about with pikes, guns and bowes,
> With old swords and bucklers, that had borne many shrewed blows."

He asserts that "the word is peculiarly appropriated to horses, and therefore misapplied. Barde, barbed or trapped; as a great horse. Bardes, barbes or trappings for horses of service, or of shew." Cotgrave. This persevering objection from such a quarter, certainly merits attention; and it remains only to inform Mr. Southey, that the author of this Poem did not, by the expression *barb'd hall*, mean the apartment called a *hall;* but an old turreted hall or castellated mansion *house*: which he calls a *barbed* hall, for the same reason, that the defensive parapet or casemate, an opening to shoot out at, was called a *barbacan*; or, that a horse defended with armour, was called a barbed horse; as is repeatedly done by Chapman, in his translation of Homer.

The word wynnynge will be hereafter explained.

BODYKIN,

"And for a bodykin a swarthe obteyne."

Æl, l. 265.

"Bodykin, is used by Chaucer more than once to signify a bodkin or dagger. I know not that it had any other signification in his time." "Swarthe used as a noun, has no sense that I am acquainted with."—Appendix.

Mr. T. might have added Shakspeare's bare bdkin.

"Who would fardles bear when he himself might
His quietus make with a bare bodkin?"

And he ought to have known that a dagger was called a bodykin by Chaucer, from its having been worn stuck in the girdle close to the body; which establishes the propriety of the word for the body. Bodkin, though here used for the body, is properly its diminutive.

That Mr. T. did not know swarthe to be a noun substantive was perhaps less pardonable; a modern author might have found it in Kersey, Coles, or Bailey's Dictionaries, consequently his negligence adds nothing to the evidence in favour of Rowley's claim.

It hath been well observed by Mr. Pinkerton, Anc. Sc. Poems, v. i, p. 128,

that "it is easy to use ancient words; but ancient sentiments, idioms, transitions, &c. most difficult." We shall find *swartheynge*, in these Poems, in a sense and sentiment well calculated to combat this objection, and affording an important observation, which, it is presumed, will justify the length of the following remarks on the word

SWARTHE;

Which frequently occurs in common conversation in the north of England, signifying a ghost, or rather the apparition of a person; for a distinction is made. It is not unusual for one to observe, that he had seen a certain person passing some particular place; upon another answering, it could not be, for I know he was at that time many miles distant: the first will reply, then I am sure he cannot live long, for if it was not he, it was his swarthe. Here then is the word still existing in the language as a noun substantive; from which the adjective swarthless, would be very easily formed, as in the following lines.

"From place to place besmear'd with bloode they wente,
And rounde aboute them *swarthless* corse besprente."

Admitting Chatterton to have picked up this obsolete word from Kersey or Bailey;

yet from his not having given an explanation so much wanted, it is presumable, that neither Kersey nor Bailey's Dictionaries did, in the earlyperiod of his labours, occur to him as good sources of information, respecting many of the obsolete words in the Poems; it argues much credulity to believe that he could have been so intimately conversant with the sentiments and superstitious notions of our ancient writers, as to have applied the following inflection of it incidentally and without any kind of effort.

> "No, thou schalte never leave thie Birtha's syde:
> Ne schall the wynde uponne us blowe *alleyne*;
> I, lyche a nedere, wylle untoe thee byde;
> Tyde lyfe, tyde deathe, ytte shall beholde us twayne.
> I have my parte of drierie dole and peyne;
> Itte brasteth from mee atte the holtred eyne;
> Ynne tydes of teares mie *swarthynge* spryte wyll drayne."

In the new edition of the Poems, this is simply explained *dying*; from which it is evident, the respectable editor of that work, like his predecessors, is unacquainted with its import; which, to comprehend thoroughly, it is necessary to know that an opinion prevailed, among the writers of Rowley's age, and a considerable time later, that the human frame might be debilitated and reduced to the lowest state of existence, by the frequent wanderings of its apparition, swarthe, or spirit.

Chaucer, after describing Troilus and Cresseide in a peculiar state of great debility from this cause, adds;

"But when her (their) woful wery ghosts twain
Returned ben, &c."

Richard Robinson, in a poem called the Rewarde of Wickednesse, published anno 1573, has expressed the idea in a very clear and satisfactory manner.

"And as a man whose sillie spryghtes had *wandered* all the night,
So in a slumber waked I, and up I gat me righte."
Vid. Helicon, p. 8.

"All carke and care my *wandering* spryghte had lafte."
Ibid.

"And know (quoth he) that everie night and daye
Who shutteth up his eyes, his head to feede with sleepe;
His *wand'ring* sprite attendes on me alwaye,
To trudge and travell, where I shall thinke meete,
As well to mounte the skies, as in the secretes deepe:
As swifte as thoughte, what God hath greater poure
Than all that is, or was, to shewe thee in an houre."
Ibid.

"O Jove I die, and mercy thee beseech,
Helpe Troilus; and there withall her face
Upon his breast she laid, and lost her speech:
Her woeful spirite from his proper place
Righte with the worde, awaye in pointe to pace
And thus she lithe."
Chaucer's Troilus.

Sydney, in his Arcadia, alludes to the same notion thus: p. 399, where a wandering spryte seems to have been caught.

"Full glad they were and took the naked sprite
Which streight the earth yclothed with his clay."

The ghost is clearly separated from the body by Chaucer, in these lines of Troilus and Cresside.

"For while her gost, that flikkered aie alofte,
Into her woful hert *aien* it went."

Swarthe, as a noun, not only means the apparition or ghost of a person, but also a thin paring of earth, the green sward; the Saxon ð or dh, and the th being in numerous instances confounded with the letter d in the English language. It is a noun substantive also in the kindred word swaythe, which implies the rows of grass left by the scythe in mowing.

There is a curious passage in the Spectator, No. 110. which may lead to a further investigation of the wandering swarthe or sprite; and perhaps account for the notion having taken possession of the minds of our ancient writers; and being still retained by the vulgar. "Lucretius himself, though by the course of his philosophy he was obliged to maintain, that the soul did not exist separately from the body, makes no doubt of the reality of apparitions; and that men have often appeared after their death: he was so pressed with the matter of fact which he could not have

the confidence to deny, that he was forced to account for it by one of the most absurd and unphilosophical notions that was ever started. He tells us, that the surfaces of all bodies are perpetually flying off one after another; and that these surfaces or thin cases that included one another whilst they were joined in the body like the coats of an onion, are sometimes seen entire when they are separated from it; by which means, we often behold the shapes and shadows of persons who are either dead or absent."

Cicero in an epistle to Catius, vid. Melm. trans. v. 2, p. 708, alludes, in a pleasant manner, to the same notion. "This effect is by no means produced let me tell you, by those subtle images which your new friends, talk so much about; who suppose that even the ideas of imagination are excited by what the late Catius, with wonderous elegancy has stiled spectres. For by this curious word* you must know he has expressed, what Epicurus, who borrowed the notion from Democritus has called images. But granting that these same spectres are capable of affecting the organs of vision, yet I cannot guess which

* What the Greek Epicureans called *eidola*, Cicero and Lucretius always render by simulachra or imagines.

way they can contrive to make their entrance into the mind. But you will solve this difficulty when we meet; and tell me by what means, whenever I shall be disposed to think of you, I may be able to call up your spectre: and not only yours, whose image is so deeply stamped in my heart, but even that of the whole British Island, for instance, if I should be disposed to make it the subject of my meditation."

The idea of the swarthe or apparition of a person being visible, separate from his body, is beautifully and most poetically expressed by Virgil, in the well-known passsage, lib. 10, Æn. where Juno fabricates a swarth of Æneas, to delude Turnus from the field of battle; and the *quales fama est* demonstrates that the same notion prevailed in his days.

"Tum Dea nube cavâ tenuem sine viribus umbram
In faciem Æneæ (visu mirabile monstrum)
Dardaniis ornat telis; clypeumque Jubasque
Divini assimulat capitis: dat inania verba;
Dat sine mente sonum, gressusque effingit euntis,
Morte obita quales fama est volitare figuras,
Aut quæ sopitos deludunt somnia sensus."

The "Morte obita quales fama est," is precisely the notion which prevails in the north of England; and the last line, agrees nearly as well with the idea contained in the quotations from the Rewarde

of Wickednesse, and our author; for, that the latter believed in the debilitating effects of the wandering sprite, appears from the lines immediately following the quotation already given.

> " Goe notte, O Ælla; with thie Birtha staie;
> For wyth thie semmlikeed mie spryte will goe awaie."

Or that beautiful simile in the Story of William Cannynge.

> " As when a bordilier on ethie bedde,
> Tir'd with the labours maynt of sweltrie daie,
> Yn slepeis bosom laieth hys deft headde,
> *So senses sonke to reste mie boddie laie.**
> Eftsoons mie spryghte, from erthlie bandes untyde,
> Immengde yn flanched ayre wyth Trouthe *asyde*.

Mr. Tyrwhitt thinks that *asyde* is a misprint for the old English word *astyde*. The conjecture is a happy one; for *astyde* signifies *ascended on high*; of which meaning I believe Chatterton was compleatly ignorant: and that the misprint originated in that ignorance, exactly in the same way as we shall have many opportunities of shewing that multitudes of misprints have occurred in the reading of Shakspeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Massenger, &c.

Mr. T. might have applied this happy conjecture to an explanation of the word

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* Aut quæ sopitos deludunt somnia sensus.

astende, l. 47 of Goddwyn, which Chatterton has rendered *astonish*.

"The wyddowe, fadrelesse, and bondemennes cries,
Acheke the *mokie* aire and heaven *astende*."

This means that the cries of the widow, fatherless, &c. rise up to heaven. Astende is an inflection of the verb astigh: it occurs in the same sense in an old poem in the Nugæ Antiquæ, p. 224, v. 1.

"To honoure's hand him *higher* draweth,
With gladd applause *astended*."

And Allan Ramsey, who, though a modern author, made much use of the ancient Anglo-Sax. dialect, demonstrates this word to be correctly used in the passage before us. See vol. 2, page 155.

"The body tires, poor tottering clay,
And likes with ease at hame to stay;
While sauls stride warlds at ilka *stende*,
And can their widening views extend."

And again in the concluding page:

"To balance that, pray let them ken
My saul to higher pitch could *sten*."

Who will now pretend to say either that Chatterton understood astende, or that he fabricated it for the mere purpose of a rhime to ascende? Or will any one, with Mr. Warton, consider it as an unmeaning

expression, hastily picked up. Acheke is one of the few words which yet remain to be authenticated and explained.

But, let us return to the idea of the wandering swarth; which it will be easy to shew, had taken possession of the human mind long prior to the age of Virgil, as it may be distinctly seen in several passages of Euripides, who makes Helen attempt to persuade Menelaus that it was her swarth or apparition, not herself, that accompanied Paris to the city of Troy.

Ελε.] Ουκ ἦλθον εις γην Τρῳάδ, ἀλλ' ἔιδωλον ἦν.

Helen.] "To the domains of Troy I never went:
It was my Image *(swarth)* only."
Woodhull's transl. v. iii p. 303

Με.] Καὶ τίς βλεποντα σώματ' εξεργάζεται;

Menelaus.] ——— "Who can fashion
Such bodies with the power of sight endowed?
Ibid.

Ελε.] Αἰθὴρ, ὅθεν σὺ θεοπόνετ' ἔχεις λέχη;

Helen.] "Composed of ether, you a consort have
Heaven's workmanship."
Ibid.

Ελε.] Λείψεις γαρ ημᾶς, τὰ δε κέν' εξάξεις λέχη.

Helen.] "Will you then leave me here and bear away
That shadow *(swarth)* of a wife?"
Ibid

There is a truly poetical allusion to this notion of the wandering spryte, in a more modern production.

> " 'Tis said, the soul, while the tir'd body sleeps,
> Her mansion often leaves, and roves abroad,
> Sometimes to groves and solitary cells;
> Sometimes to courts, to cities, and to camps,
> Mingling with crowds, then strangely left alone."
>
> Fall of Mortimer.

In Howel's Letters, p. 12, let. 8, we find the same notion alluded to, but merely in a figurative manner.

> " And my fantasie often enjoys you in sleep, when all my senses are lock'd up, and my soul wanders up and down the world, sometimes through pleasant fields and gardens, sometimes through odd uncouth places, over mountains and broken confused buildings."

In this sentence may perhaps be perceived the original idea, from which all these poetical exaggerations of superstition are taken. It reminds one of a passage in Æschylus, who thus speaks in the furies, of the mind in sleep, freed from the incumbrance of matter, taking a clearer view of the fate of man.

> Ευδουσα γαρ φρην ομμασιν λαμπρυνεται
> Εν 'ημερα δε μοιρ' ανδροσκοπος βροτων.

Heywood, in a dialogue betwixt Philonides and Menippus, makes a beautiful

allusion to the shadow; which accords well with the present subject, and will give the true etymology of *swarthe*. Philonides asks,

Phil. "And what are they by Jove I entreat thee tell,
(Dear friend Menippus) that can plead so well?

Men. "Hast thou observ'd such shadows as appeare
To dog our bodies when the sun shines cleare?

Phil. "Yes, frequently.

Men. "We are no sooner laid
Asleepe in our cold graves, but these are made
The witnesses against us, and permitted
To testify each sinne by us committed:
Ev'n these, that there reprove us, are the chiefe;
Nor are they (Friend) unworthy all beliefe,
As they who night and day upon us wait,
Being from our bodies never separate."
Heywood, page 356. Poem called the Powers.

Swarte, in the German language, signifies, black. Shakspeare makes use of it in that sense in the Comedy of Errors, act ii, sc. 3.

S. Ant. "What complexion is she of?
S. Dro. Swarte, like my shoe, but her face nothing like so clean.

And the word is spelled either with the letter t or the ð, which has the power of th. Heywood's allusion therefore to the *black shadow*, doubtless gives the origin of the word; and the superstitious ideas built upon it are very curious. It requires much credulity to believe that Chatterton's mind

could have been so imbued with these antiquated notions, that they should have burst forth incidentally, or have been called forth artfully, for the mere purpose of forming a single epithet to a noun substantive, my swartheynge spryte.

If the s be dropped from swarthe, it becomes almost exactly the same as the *wrathe* or wraith of the Scotch, an ideal being, possessed of all the attributes of the Cumberland swarthe.

"The wraith or spectral appearance of a person shortly to die, is a firm article in the creed of Scottish superstition. Nor is it unknown in our sister kingdom. See the Story of the Beautiful Lady Diana Rich. Aubrey's Miscellanies, page 89, Minstrelsy of the Scot Bard, cxxxvi."

The Scotch have also a water wraythe in their popular creed, to which the author of these poems alludes, in the conclusion of one of his beautiful Mynstrelles songes.

"Waterre wytches, crownde wythe *reytes*,
Beare me to yer lethalle tyde.
I die; I comme; mie true love waytes.
Thos the damselle spake, and dyed."

Heywood alludes to the *water* witch in the following passage, p. 549,

"And most commonly it appeareth in the shape of an harper, sweetly singing, and *dallying* and playing under the water."

The water witches of Rowley, and the water wrayths of Scotland, are the same

ideal beings, not now known or thought of, I believe, in the south of England. Beaumont and Fletcher, in the Chances, act iv. sc. 1, mention a water devil, most probably one of the same family:

> "Get me a conjuror,
> One that can raise a water devil."*

I cannot dismiss this long disquisition without observing that, these are certainly the ideas either of a really ancient author, or of one possessed of far more information than can easily be supposed to have fallen to the share of a school boy. They not only remove the very fair and judicious objection of Mr. Pinkerton, that, "however easy it may be to use old words, ancient

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* Should the reader not be disgusted with the number of swarthes or ghosts which we have raised, he may pursue the amusement in this Note; where he will find two regular armies of the same aërial beings, actually engaged in battle.

"Niderius (says Heywood, in his Arch Angell, page 554) telleth this story: In the borders of the kingdom of Bohemia lieth a valley, in which, divers nights together, was heard clattering of armour, and clamours of men, as if two armies had met in pitched battell. Two knights that inhabited neere unto this *prodigious* place, agreed to arm themselves, and discover the secrets of this invisible army. The night was appointed, and accommodated *at all assayes* they rode to the place, where they might descry two battells ready ordered for present skirmish; they could easily distinguish the colours and *pravant* liveries of every company; but drawing neere, the one, whose courage began to *relent*, told the other, that he had seen sufficient for his part, and thought it not good to *dally* with such prodigies; wherefore, further than he was he would not go. The other called him coward, and *prickt* on towards the armies; from one of which a horseman came forth, fought with him, and cut off his head. At which sight the other fled, and related the news the next morning. A great confluence of people searching for the body, found it in one place, the head in another; but neither could discern the footing of horse or man; only the print of birds' feet, and those in myrie places."

sentiments, idioms, transitions, &c. are most difficult," but they in reality convert it into an argument in favour of the antiquity and authenticity of the Poems.

If these remarks obtain attention, many similar instances will occur; but one only shall be noticed at present.

There is at the 75th line of Ælla, a beautiful speech of Celmonde, concluding thus:

> "I, as a token of mie love to speake,
> Have brought you *jubbes* of ale, at night your *brayne to breake.*"

Nothing can more forcibly, or more conspicuously illustrate the propriety of Mr. Pinkerton's remark than the concluding line; for Chatterton might with ease have obtained the word jubbes as an old expression for jugs; but the phrase *youre brayne to breake*, comprehends allusion to an ancient sentiment which compleatly eluded the penetration of Mr. Bryant and Dr. Milles: I believe it to have been equally obscure to Mr. Warton and Mr. Tyrwhitt; and presume that it is not less so to Mr. Pinkerton, Mr. Scott, Mr. Southey, and every other advocate for the authorship of Chatterton. Yet I here pledge myself to demonstrate, in a subsequent part of this enquiry, that the words have a precise and determinate meaning, consistent with

the whole tenor of the speech, and perfectly agreeable to the ideas, the customs and manners, not only of the age in which the Poems are said to have been written, but of that also in which the persons of the drama are supposed to have existed; and it will give me great pleasure if any reader of this introduction should anticipate the explanation: but if, on the contrary, every reader, like the above-mentioned critics, should be foiled, and the words finally admitted to comprehend the significance which I have alleged, can they be ascribed to the pen of any modern fabricator?

FONNES.

"*On* (one) of the *fonnes* whych the clerche have made."
Æl. l. 421.

"Quayntyssed *fonnes* depicted on each sheelde."
Tourn. 4.

It may, perhaps, be worth while here to notice the ancient mode of spelling *on* for *one*, as it accounts for, and legitimates a supposed error in the quarto edition of Shakspeare: fair *on*, for fair *one*, has puzzled some of the editors, in the fifth act of Pericles: a difficulty which the *pseudo*-Rowley would have enabled them to surmount, not only in this, but in several other instances. See it also in King John, act iii, scene 3.

——"If the midnight bell
Did with his iron tongue and brazen mouth
Sound *on* unto the drowsey race of night."

"A fonne in Chaucer (according to Mr. T.) signifies a fool; and fonnes fools; and Spencer uses *fon* in the same sense: nor does he believe that it ever had any other meaning." In the new edition of Chatterton's Works it is said, most probably upon this authority, to be "a word of unknown origin."

Fon, a device, is derived to *us* from the Saxon ꝑon vannus a vane.* The vane or pendant of a ship is a long gaudy streamer of various colours, ornamented with devices. A lady's *fan*, which takes its name from the same source, is always decorated with curious devices. The vane of a ship has been sometimes called her ancient, a word intimately connected with an antic or antique. Antics were whimsical or gaudy pageants, with which our forefathers were often greatly delighted; in which streamers or vanes, or ancients, decorated with singular devices, were often displayed: and the ridiculous buf-

* The candid reader will readily believe the writer, when he declares that he was not indebted for the slightest hint in his remarks on this word to Mr. Bryant, Wherever a similar coincidence of sentiment occurs, he requests the same indulgence. Perhaps, upon these occasions, it may be curious to observe the different manner in which the same subject is treated by a profoundly learned, and a very moderately learned critic.

*foon*ery, grimaces, and gesticulations of an antic, or one who performed in these entertainments, connect the fon or fool of Chaucer or Spencer, with the fonnes or devices of a vane, or ancient, or streamer of a ship; or "the quayntyssed fonnes depycted on eache shield," of Rowley; sanctioning at the same time what has been said by Dr. Milles respecting the antiquity of the modern kindred word *fun*; and affording at the same time, a much more rational etymology of buffoonery than is to be found in Junius, Minshew, or any of the other lexicographers. Quayntyssed is authenticated in Ellis's Specimens, page 252 part 2; "concerning the *quaintisse* and contrivance of the sphere, the sun, moon, stars," &c. The quayntyssed *fonnes*, therefore, of Rowley, are the curious devices of modern language, and which, although thus proved to be intimately connected with the *fonne* or fool of Chaucer, are perhaps more immediately derived from the *Φαινω luceo* of the Gr. the shining, splendid *vane* or streamer of a ship, or pageant: a connection which it is not the business of this work to account for or explain: but the corresponding *quaint* of Shakspeare, may be noticed,

> "That, *quaint* in green, she shall be loose enrobed,
> With ribbands pendant, flaring 'bout her head."
> Merry Wives of Windsor, act iv.

Thus the *quaint* Ariel of Shakspeare is neither the brisk nor dexterous, as it has been rendered, but the spruce, or neatly adorned Ariel. It cannot, therefore, be admitted that *fon* is a word of unknown origin. It is still retained in Chaucer's sense, in the expressions *fond, fond of* "Contrariwise he said to the christians they were *fonde* to believe that Jesus, so dierly beloved of God, and borne of a virgine, should suffer those villanies and tormentes of the Jews." Fardle of Faciouns, p. 216—"Many *fond* talkes goe abroade of the original cause of this fier." Denne's Report of the Burning of St. Paule's steeple."

HANCELLED.

Godwyn, l. 49, cut off destroyed. Chat.

"*Hancelled* from erthe these Normanne Hyndes shalle bee."

The long Latin quotation from Skinner, which Mr. Tyrwhitt justly supposes Chatterton did not understand, renders it very improbable that he mistook the piece "*cut off*" of that author, for *destroyed*, and made use of it accordingly.

Henıe henise, in Bens. v. a. s. signifies calcatio, a spurning with the foot: therefore henerelleb or hancelled (for Skinner spells it both with c and s) occurs in the above line with great propriety. Spurned, kick'd from earth these Norman hinds shall

be. It may be easily conceived how hancell or hansell, and handsell, or more properly hand-seal, came to be confounded. Hansel, still in common use, is probably derived from the ancient custom of concluding or sealing a bargain by *striking* the hands together; which in the Fardle of Faciouns is called hand-seale: "Let them give the firste *hand-seale* of the things that the law commandeth them to bring." Fol. 307.

Hancelled and hanselled, are distinct words, which Skinner confounds. Kersey, Coles, and Bailey, mark the first (o) for old, and interpret it *cut off*, *destroyed*; the other, the first money that a tradesman receives for his commodity: in which sense Howel uses hansell; perhaps a contraction of hantsell, having some connection with custom; for the same writer in the 7th letter applies "*hansomed* femels" twice, to common or accustomed courtesans; which cannot be an error of the press, because when he means beautiful he spells it handsome.

It is further worthy of notice, that *hancell*, to *cut off* or *destroy*, differs only in one letter from cancel, which it will be easy to shew is radically the same. One part of the office of a Lord Chancellor, both in England and France, shews that the hard c and the ch were synonymous—he might

have been called a canceller: and the Latin works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries frequently demonstrate that the ch and the h were considered as nearly one and the same: mihi was written michi, and nihil, nichil; both being pronounced, but particularly the latter, like the German mich me. See Theologia Vivificans Cibus Solidus, or Dyonyssii Divini Hymni, anno 1515, passim. See also Londinium Redivivum, v. 1, p. 156, l. 15; or, ibid. p. 232, l. 27. It follows, therefore, that hancelled, cancelled, or chancelled, convey literally and identically the same meaning.

It may be said that Chatterton found hancelled in Coles, Kersey, or Bailey; and it may be asked, what has all this to do with the controversy? I answer, it establishes two points of importance; one, that the authority of Kersey has been unjustly called in question: the other that the assertions of Mr. T. are not entitled to all the credit which they have obtained.

KNOPPED.

"Theyre *myghte* ys *knopped* ynne the froste of fere."

Myghte is here used for strength, courage, power, or force, exactly as in ancient times strong ale was called myghty ale, and a sturdy, a myghty beggar, in Arnold's Auncyent Chronicle. Wm. of Worcester

calls " the hyest or mayn toure of the castle of Bristol, the *myghtyest* toure." The MSS. attributed to Rowley, in describing the same, mention the " old walle of the *mytyer* castle." See Hist. of Brist. p. 197. Is this consistent with the idea of " unmeaning terms, hastily and unskilfully collected by a school-boy?

" Knopped is used by Chaucer to signify *fastencd* with a button; but what poet, that knew the meaning of his words, would say that any thing was *buttoned* with frost?" Tyr. Appendix, p. 319.

The writer of that line meant to say " their might or power is *frost nipp'd* by fear," or *bound up*, confined, rendered inactive and useless, by the chilling effects of fear. The idea has been familiar to writers of all ages, but more especially of the age of Rowley. Mr. Pinkerton, in a note on the word frost, p. 374, vol. 2, of his Antient Scotish Poems, says " this word is used in a singular metaphorical sense by different Scotish poets." The old romances, in like manner, speak of fear striking the heart cold, &c. Will that ingenious writer, like the late Mr. Tyrwhitt, draw a conclusion hostile to the authenticity of these Poems from this circumstance? surely not: he must be better acquainted with the nature and weight of evidence. Herbert, in his travels, speaks of " the be-

numming frost of old age." Shakspeare in King Henry IV.

"But for their spirits and souls
This word rebellion, it had *froze* them up
As fish are in a pond."

"Aye by my faith that bears a *frosty* sound."

Id.

"My spirits as in a dream are all *bound* up."

Tempest.

"This act, so evilly born, shall *cool* the hearts
Of all his people, and *freeze* up their zeal.

King John, act 3.

"There is a false modesty hanging upon every mind, that comes to examine a writer of Livy's celebrity in the world of history, which would *chill* the current of examination, and *bind up* the critical powers of the judgment in a kind of *frost*."
Whittaker's Course of Hannibal, vol. 1, p. 350.

One would imagine that some of our late writers have been as much enamoured, as Mr. Tyrwhitt was disgusted with this metaphorical allusion to frost. Vide Godwin's St. Leon, v. 3, p. 223.

"With what eager appetite I should have mixed in scenes of calamity and cruelty, intolerable to any other eye, glad for myself that even upon such terms I could escape the *frost bound* winter of the soul."

The same idea is forcibly expressed in the play of a Wife for a month, by Beaumont and Fletcher. The principal character Valerio, is thrown into a most ludicrously distressing situation. On the eve

of his nuptials he is made to believe, that consummation will be instantly fatal to his beloved bride, and the disclosure equally so. The scene is conducted with much humour, but in a manner shocking to delicacy, and inconsistent with the chastity and decorum of the modern drama. The metaphor drawn from frost occurs in these lines:

"My veins are all on fire, and burn like Ætna,
And add fresh fuel to my warm affections,
I must ———, yet, when I consider,
When I collect myself, and weigh her danger,
The tyrant's will, and his power taught to murder,
My tender care controlls my blood within me,
And like a cold fit of a peevish ague
Creeps to my soul, and flings an ice upon me,
That *locks all powers* of youth up: but prevention."

"Wrap my heart in tenfold steel."
Blacklock's Hymn to Fortitude.

"My frozen limbs pale terror chains."
Ibid.

"Chill penury repress'd their noble rage,
And *froze* the genial current of their souls:"
Gray's Elegy.

"In lazy apathy let stoics boast
Their virtue fix'd, 'tis fix'd as in *a frost*,
Contracted all, retiring to the breast."

"Thy nerves are all *bound up* in alabaster."
Milton's Masque at Ludlow.

"Tut, tut, thou art all ice, thy kindness *freezes*."
Richard III.

Turberville makes reason harangue against love thus:

"A fierie *frost*, that *frozen* is with ise."

"These tidings nip me; and I hang the head
As flowers with *frost*.

Titus Andron.

"And *freezes* every stiffen'd limb to marble."

Rowe's Ulysses.

"I have a faint cold fear thrills through my veins,
That almost *freezes* up the heat of life."

Rom. and Juliet, act iv, sc. 3.

"The freezing frost of frigid apathy chills my powers."

Modern Philosophers.

One more quotation from Shakspeare will for ever silence this objection to the heart or strength being *buttoned* up.

"A devil in an everlasting garment hath him;
One whose hard *heart is button'd up with steel.*
A fiend, a fairy pityless and rough."

Com. of Errors, act iii, sc. 4.

These are surely sufficient to justify our author in asserting that "their myghte is *knopped* in the frost of fear."

CONTEKE.

"I contake thie waie.

Tourn. l. 87.

"*Conteke* the dynnynge ayre and reche the skies."

"Conteke is used by Chaucer as a noun, for contention: I know of no instance of its being used as a verb. Appen. p. 318."

At page 183 of Mrs. Morgan's Tour in Wales, there is a passage quoted from an

old author, which carries its character of antiquity along with it, and there we find *contake* as a verb: but since we can shew the word *take* as a verb; meaning to *trouble*, no doubt can be entertained of the legitimacy of contake in the same sense.

"Gretely us marvayleth, Arthur, that thou art oones soo hardy wyth thyn eyen in thyn head, to make open warre, or to *contake* agaynst us of Rome, that owe al the world to deme."

BAWSIN

Ælla, 67, large: Chat. M. 101, huge, bulky: Chat.

"The bawsin gyaunt, hee who dyd them slee,
"To telle gendolyne quycklie was ysped;
Whanne, as he strod alonge the shakynge lee,
The roddie levynne glester'd on hys headde.
English Metam.

"Without pretending to determine the precise meaning of bawsin, I think I may venture to say that there is no older or better authority for rendering it *large*, than Skinner: Bawsin exp. magnus grandis, &c." Appendix, 326

Now let us look into Mr. T.'s own author, Chaucer, and we shall find a couple of lines, with which I many years ago furnished Dr. Glynn; and which were copied by Dr. Milles; they are in one of Chaucer's ballads:

"*Bawsin* buttock'd, bellied like a tonne,
Men crie St. Barbary at the losing of your gonne."

LITHIE.

Humble.—Chatterton.

Mr. T. gives this as a word copied from Skinner; but adds, "in truth I do not believe there is any such word. Skinner probably found it in his edition of Chaucer's Cuckow and Nightingale, verse 14, where the MSS. have *lither wicked*, which is undoubtedly the right reading." Appendix.

Mr. T. forgot the beautiful epithet of Milton, speaking of the elephant:—"And writhes his *lithe* proboscis." Can there be, in the English language, a happier, or more appropriate epithet for a supple, cringing, insinuating monk, than lithie? Milton did not coin the word; he wrote in the language of his forefathers. To make a *lithe* is a well known expression in the north of England, for a peculiar *smooth* mode of mixing oatmeal with milk. In the Saxon language liᵹhe lithe, is lenis liᵹhlic lithlic leniter liᵹheneꝛꝛe lithenesse lenitas, blandimentum, liᵹh lith lenis, quietus, liᵹhebiᵹe lenis flexibilis. And in the language of Chaucer's House of Fame,

"To makin *lithe* that erste was hard."

Book 1. l. 10.

HEIE.

"*Heie*, the old plural of *he*, was obsolete, I apprehend, in the time of the supposed

Rowley: at least, it is very improbable, that the same writer, at any time, should use *heie* and *theie* indifferently, as in these Poems." Appendix, 320. This is a strange supposition from an editor of Chaucer, who repeatedly uses *hem* and *them* nearly in the same line.

If *yey* for *they*, had occurred in these Poems, as it does times out of number, in the Paston Letters of the fifteenth century, Mr. T., in all probability, would have started the same objection.

SELF.

At p. 79 of Mr. Tyrwhitt's vindication of his Appendix, he says, "One set of phrases very frequently used in these Poems, is formed upon an idea, which I am persuaded did not exist in the time of the supposed Rowley. I observed in my Essay on the language, &c. of Chaucer, (vol. 4, p. 36,) that he was not acquainted with the metaphysical substantive *self*, of which our modern poets have made so much use. But Rowley plays with this idea through all its changes."

"Hys dame, hys seconde *selfe*, give uppe her brethe."
Sto. of Can. l. 134.

"Yette I wylle bee *mieselfe*."
Æl, l. 286.

He adds five other passages of the same nature, in which are, mie selfe, thie selfe, mieselfe, mie sel, and *selfe-endes.* This last phrase, Mr. T. adds, like *self-love*, self-interest, &c. is evidently formed from a *substantive* signification of *self*; of which, I have never been able to find any traces in our language before the sixteenth century, when it probably was first introduced, to express the power of the Greek αυτος."

In Mr. G. Mason's late edition of poems by Hoccleve, page 56, there are the following lines:

> "The proverb is, *the doumb man no land getith:*
> Who so nat spekith, and with need is bete.
> And thurgh arghnesse his *own self* forgetith,
> No wondir thogh another him forgete."

In a note, Mr. Mason says, this expression may serve to confirm Wallis's opinion, that *self* was a substantive. Mr. T. held the contrary in his vindication of his Appendix to Rowley; but allowed that *self* had been made a substantive of in the sixteenth century. Any other such instance, either in the fifteenth century or earlier, the editor (i. e. Mr, G. M. himself) acknowledges that *he*, has not found; yet he cannot conceive, but this single authority is an undeniable one."

It certainly is, and Mr. G. Mason might

have found something like another, at p. 61, of his own publication, see his note on v. 28. "so in Gower."

"Out of him *selfe* awey."

Fol. 35.

If these be added to the Anglo-Sax. ſelf-cpala seipsum occidens, ſelf hcunge philautia, or to the following in line 2020 of the Rom. of the Rose,

"I bere of love the gonfenoun,
And of curtisie the banere,
For I am of *selfe* the manere."

They must greatly invalidate this objection of Mr. T., and render it less necessary to produce other instances, such as these of the same Poem.

"And *I myselfe* so merry ferde." L. 499.
"I wote *myself* what maie the save." L. 2122.
"Maintaine *thyselfe* after thy rent." L. 2254.
"A fole *myselfe* I may well holde." L. 2254.
"And holde *thyselfe* begilid ill." L. 2434.
"Whether it be *thy-selfe* alone." L. 2650.

DYD BEE.

"Albeytte unwears *dyd* the welkynn rende,
Reyne, alycke fallynge ryvers, *dyd* terse *bee*."

Æl. l. 966.

"Whanne you as catysned, in fielde *dyd bee*."

Ibid, l. 1104.

Mr. Tyrwhitt in page 80, of his answer to Milles, &c. says, such a combination of *do*, as an auxiliary verb, with the verb

be, I believe to be quite unexampled in any age—which he adds, proves that the Author was an unskilful imitator of ancient language.

Perhaps the best answer to this objection, will be a short Extract from the 1st vol. of early specimens of English Poetry, page 7, in which, the learned Editor Mr. Ellis, who, if I mistake not, is like the late Mr. T., a believer in the capability of Chatterton, thus expresses himself: "With the auxiliary verbs, there was less difficulty; indeed, the Normans having only two words of this class, were accustomed to apply them to a greater variety of purposes than was usual with the Saxons; hence, perhaps, arose the transitive use of the verb *do*, which is so *frequent* in our early writers; as in *do make* (faire faire,) &c." Amongst his, &c. Mr. Ellis might have added the *did bee* of our Author.

We are here therefore compelled to admit, either that the Poems are authentic, or that the unlearned and inexperienced Boy Chatterton, was more skilful in the old English Language, than the learned and experienced editor of Chaucer allowed. We find an instance of this kind in Lydgate's description of Troy, see vol. 1, p. 292, of Ellis's specimens.

——— " inwardly fervent,
If so he might among his works all
Do build a palace and a riche hall."

At page 26, of the 2d volume, there is *done remain* for remained, by Sir David Lindsay.

> " They shall think they have *done remain*
> A thousand years into that pain."

In the Romaunt of the Rose 2080, we have,

> " And if ye doubt it n'olde obaie
> Ye maie thereof *do make* a kaie."

The *do make* of Chaucer, and the *did bee* of Rowley, afford a coincidence of *do*, as an auxiliary verb, little to be expected from the pen of Chatterton. The did bee of Rowley is like the *founde ybe* of Chaucer, introduced for the purpose of rhime.

> " The althir fairist folke to se
> That in this worlde maie founde ybe."
>
> R. R. I. 626.

What Mr. Tyrwhitt has termed an objection, others may consider as a confirmation of authenticity.

BIE THANKES.

Mr. Tyrwhitt, has been as incorrect in his list of Errata, as in his objections to the particular words and expressions. For bie thankes, he directs us to read mie thankes; a *correction* incautiously adopted by Dr.

Milles. When Birtha is rescued from the violence of Celmonde, by the Danish leader Hurra, and declares herself to be the wife of Ælla, she exclaims:

> " Gyffe anenste hym you harboure foule despyte,
> Nowe wythe the lethal anlace take mie lyfe,
> *Bie* thankes I ever onne you wylle bestowe
> From ewbryce you mee pyghte, the worste of mortal woe."

that is, she will give them *double* thanks, first for taking away her life, which would be a burthen, if any misfortune befell Ælla; secondly, on accouut of their having preserved her from adultery or the violence of Celmonde.

Michael Drayton, in a Poem on Poets and Poesy, addressed to Henry Reynolds, esq. thus mentions the mountain Parnassus.

> " Methought I strait had mounted Pegasus,
> And in his full career could make him stop,
> And bound upon Parnassus by-clift top.

And Shakspeare uses nearly the same expression in Troil. and Cress. act. 5, sc. 1.

> ——— " O madness of discourse!
> That cause sets up with and against itself!
> Bi-fold authority!"

Phaer in the 10th book of the Æneid, or rather Twine page 10, uses by-gestered at my father's house, for twice hospitably entertained there. The Latin line does not

justify the expression; but Virgil's Narrative of Alcides and Evander does, and such is the translator's meaning.

Heywood in a Poem, called the Thrones, p. 124, uses by-corn'd,

> " Lyra the harpe in by-corn'd fashion made,
> Some thinke the selfe same on which Orpheus plaid;
> Who for his musick's skill was so advanc't
> That beastes and trees, and stones about him danc't."

STYTHE.

For stythe Mr. Tyrwhitt directs us to read swythe. Ælla, after stabbing himself, orders his passing bell to toll, and says,

> " Be stylle: stythe lette the chyrches rynge mie knelle."

Styth in the Ango-Sax. implies gravis, heavy, steadily, or solemnly: he desires the bells to toll solemnly. A smith's anvil is called his stithy or stiddy, a word of similar derivation. The Anglo-Sax. stythe, the northern stithy, the modern steady, and the Greek ςαθῆ stabile, are all of the same family: and if a doubt remain respecting the propriety of retaining the original word, it is done away by the following lines of Thos. Hudson's translation of Du Bartas' Judith; dedicated to James VI. of Scotland:

"Thier habergions like stiddies stythe they baire
With helmets high and pennons pight in aire."
Quarto ed. B. 3, page 36.

Having already trespassed too much upon the reader's attention, I forbear to notice Mr. T.'s extraordinary *correction* of "Oh sea o'erteaming Dover," and some others; and conclude this introductory part of the Examination with a few remarks in answer to his objections to the word *han*, as it occurs in these Poems in the singular number.

HANNE.

"The British Merlyn often *hanne*
The gyfte of inspyration."
Ladgate's Ans. p. 26.

This is the first of many instances of the word *hanne* occurring in an irregular manner, according to Mr. T. It is, we are told, the capital blunder, which runs through all the Poems, and alone sufficient to destroy their credit. "I will set down a number of instances, in which *han* is used for the present or past time singular of the verb *have*; only premising, that han being an abbreviation of *haven*, is *never* used by any ancient writer, except in the present time plural, and the infinitive mood:" Appendix.

In the new edition, we are told that "every instance which has yet been brought for-

ward in answer to this objection, is defective, one excepted ; from a line or a rhime, by no body knows who." The rhime is given by Verstegan in his restitution of decayed intelligence, page 245, ed. 1673; where he says, that before the use of seals was common in England, *divers* writings had the wax of them bitten with the wang tooth of him that passed them ; which was also therein mentioned in rhime, as thus :

> " In witnesse of the sothe
> Ich *han* bitten this wax with my wang tothe."

Now let us for a moment suppose, this a solitary instance of the verb han being anciently used in the *first person singular;* it will be easy to shew, that it is a very important instance. Verstegan who had no particular favorite opinion to support, and whose testimony is therefore unobjectionable; assures us, that the word did occur thus in *divers* writings. How many legal instruments may have been comprised under the indefinite term of *divers writings,* it is impossible now to ascertain, but of this there can be no doubt, that every such instrument would comprehend in writers, readers, witnesses, and others, a very numerous list of persons, who, at different periods might have been living witnesses to the correctness and propriety of this ancient form of speech. It

cannot therefore with strict justice, be called an old rhime of no body knows who; but an old rhime of some body, confirmed by the testimony of every body. Were we able, therefore, to produce none other besides this single, solitary, but prolific instance, it would invalidate the objection, and prove, that this capital blunder, was neither a blunder of Rowley nor of Chatterton; but like all other blunders ascribed to Skinner and Kersey, really a blunder of Mr. Tyrwhitt.

According to Verstegan, it was common in some parts of England to say *han* you any, for have you any; and it will be easy to prove, that it is not yet obsolete in any part of England; for there are few phrases more common, than I han't, you han't, or he han't: it may be said, that this is merely a contraction of I have not, you have not, or he hath, or had not; and I grant it is so; but may it not with equal justice be maintained, that it is the ancient contraction; or the modern remains of the old English, I *hanne* not, you *hanne* not, or he *hanne* not; as *em* is not the abbreviation of *them*, but of the ancient *hem*, dropping the aspirate h.

Should the following instances therefore be still deemed defective, they may also be deemed unnecessary; but the objection has been advanced and persisted in with

so much confidence, that the production of them will, by the candid reader, be excused. The following, from the Legende of good women, will shew that it was a matter of indifference to our ancient writers, whether they made use of *han* or *have*, since the first occurs in the *second* person plural; and the latter or *have* in the third; and both in the same sentence.

> "Saw ye (cried she) as *ye han* walked wide,
> Any of my sustren walk you beside,
> With any wild bore or other beast
> That *they have* hunted to in this forest."

> "I *hane* the sayd, how death the *hath* asset,
> And well nigh undermined is thy wal."
> Pilgrimage of the soul, by Caxton, anno, 1483, f. 31.

The following, from the Romaunt of the Rose, is neither in the present time plural, nor in the infinitive mood. The writer speaking of elde or old age, says:

> "She is hated, this wote I wele,
> Her acquaintance would no man fele,
> Ne *han* of elde companie."

And this from Hoccleves Misrule p. 29, v. 29, and 30, is in the singular number, occurring twice in the space of two lines.

> "Nat sholde his lym *han* cleved to my gore
> For al his aart, ne *han* me brought thus lowe."

Han occurs in the second person singular, in a passage of Chaucer, which I neglected

to mark, and cannot therefore correctly refer to; it was "thou han." ſcaltou han and ſcaltou have; i. e. shalt thou han, and shalt thou have, occur in two following lines, in the Vita Sanctæ Margaritæ, an harmonious Anglo or Normanno-Saxonic-Poem, of the eleventh century, in Dr. Hickes' Thesaurus, which we have already said, is believed by some to have been written by Turgotus.

In Arnold's Chronicle there is this passage, page 114:

"The whiche boke Machemet made, asd gyve hym. In the whiche he writte, amonge other thynges, as I John Mandeville *han* often rede and seyn." "And in lettynge thereof *to hane* gone to Eltham to the kynge *to have* provyded as the cause requyred." (Ibid.)

"And returned his swerde into the sheathe which shuld *hane* slayne them."

Joye's Exposition of Daniel, 1545.

In page 6, of Mr. Ritson's Ancient Songs, this objection of Mr. Tyrwhitt, is completely removed.

The hevedes o Londone brugge whose con yknawe;
He wenden *han* buen kynges ant seiden so in sawe,
Betere hem were han ybe barouns ant lybbe in Godde's lawe wyth love."

"Therfor y rede *the* yn all *thou han*,
To gette the love of God and man,"

are lines written, or more probably compiled, by W. Hitchcocke, about the middle

of the sixteenth century; for the *authenticity* of which, vid. Gentleman's Magazine, 1806, page 748.

The reader is now left to form his own judgment of the following reply of Mr. T. to the reasoning of Dr. Milles, page 76. "But in the case of *han*, and other verbs singular terminated in *n*, (to which all this argumentation of the Dean is meant to be applied), if we believe the Poems to be genuine, we must suppose that the author in the fifteenth century arbitrarily annexed a final *n* to a species of words which never in the original Saxon, nor in the derivative English, at any period, from the time of Hengist to the present, *ever* had any such termination. The supposition is absolutely incredible; and therefore we must necessarily recur to the contrary supposition, that the Poems are not genuine."

Whether or no these instances of the verb *han*, in the singular number be more or less to the purpose, than those pointed out by Dr. Milles, might now, I presume, be safely left to the determination of the reader: but there is a farther observation respecting it, which merits his attention. *Han* occurs in the first line of the accounte of Wm. Cannynges Feast; to which there is annexed a fac simile of the parchment offered as an original MS. With the genuineness of that manuscript, I have nothing

to do. It may be a real ancient MS. or, as exact a copy of one, as Chatterton was able to make; or it may be a palpable forgery: I shall only at present observe, that the last letter in the word, which has been printed *han*, has more the appearance of an h, and we ought, perhaps, to read,

"Throwe the halle the belle *hath* sounde."

How many similar deviations may have taken place it is impossible now to form any conjecture; but in these twelve lines there are two other, if not more, equally striking. *Syke* keene is probably *yche corse;* and the line should not be read,

"Syke keene theie ate; the minstrels plaie."

but

"Yche corse theie ate; the minstrels plaie."

Arounde in the third line is decidedly aroune in the fac simile.

If therefore it be a fact that *han* occurs more frequently in the singular number, in the Poems of Rowley, than in others of the same age; Chatterton's ignorance or inattention to the importance of the deductions that have been deduced, or that were deducible from that source, will afford a reason of a very different tendency to that which Mr. Tyrwhitt considered of so much importance. There will be just as

much reason to ascribe the *error* to the inattention of a transcriber as to the ignorance of a fabricator.

Before I proceed to an examination of the errors and mistakes of Tho. Chatterton, it may be proper to remind the reader of the assertion of Mr. Warton : " I have given this objection all the force that it can claim, and more perhaps than it deserves; for I doubt much whether in *Chatterton's* whole volume, *six* instances can be pointed out where he has annexed false interpretations to words that appear, when rightly understood to suit the context, and to convey a clear meaning; and these mistakes if even there are so many as have been mentioned, are very easily accounted for."

I have engaged to exhibit *considerably* more than double the number, which cannot easily be accounted for on any other principle than inexperience on the part of Chatterton as an editor;—and after the success with which I flatter myself the first bold assertions of Mr. Warton and Mr. Tyrwhitt have been refuted; the reader will, perhaps, not be very much surprised to find me engage, oftener than once, to produce five of these false interpretations in the space of three lines. Nine shall be shewn in the short but beautiful Balade of Charitie; together with nearly a proportionable number in various other parts of the Poems.

But all these must be reserved for the second part of this examination; the early or the late appearance of which will depend much upon the reception which the present may obtain from a candid and discerning public, which ought ever to be treated with deference and respect: much therefore, as I could have wished to have brought all that I have to say on this very curious subject into one point of view, and however much it may lessen the impression which I hope to make; dreading the obtrusion all at once of a large volume on a subject already supposed to have been exhausted; I shall conclude this first and least interesting part of my endeavours to elucidate the question, by observing that the Minstrelles Songe, from which some quotations have been already taken, if really the Work of Chatterton, implies a wonderful exertion of genius, skill, and dexterity: first, there is the beauty and harmony of the poetry; then its similarity in other respects with the ideas in many old English ballads; and in one line an allusion not only to the water witches, ideal beings totally unknown to Warton, Tyrwhitt, Milles, Bryant, &c. but the apparently incongruous expression of the sommer snow, which it shall be hereafter shewn, is a true and genuine archaism, as little understood by the juvenile editor as by those who possessed the advantages of age, learning, and experience.

Chatterton was probably not a greater stranger to the water witches than to the night mares, in the plural number. Shall we give him credit for avoiding a vulgar error into which Mr. Fuseli, a man of learning and classical genius, is *supposed* to have fallen in his highly fancyful and otherwise excellent picture of the night mare? Into which, notwithstanding he had maturely contemplated the subject, he has introduced the head of a mare; yet the author of this Poem, in which they are only once, barely and incidently mentioned, and immediately abandoned, correctly speaks of the night *mares*, probably *les meres de nuit*, certain night hags, ideal beings of the gothic, or fairy mythology.

> "Harke! the ravenne flappes hys wynge
> In the Briered delle belowe,
> Harke! the dethe-owle loude dothe synge,
> To the nyghte-*mares* as heie goe."

It seems incumbent upon Mr. Fuseli, to justify his insertion of the horse's or mare's head; perhaps he may be able to plead the authority of Milton, whose mind was richly imbued with all the superstitions of the fairy system; and whose night steeds may be the same as the night mares of Rowley, which he thus mentions in his Ode on the Nativity, stanza 26.

The flocking shadows pale
Troop to the infernal jail,
Each fetter'd ghost slips to his *several* grave,
And the yellow skirted fayes
Fly after the night steeds, leaving their moon-lov'd
maze."

Shakspeare, who on such a subject may be with confidence appealed to, speaks of the night mare in the singular number, but decidedly as a female witch mounted on something, whether a nag or broom-stick is uncertain.

" Saint Withold footed thrice the wold,
He met the night-mare and her nine fold,
Bid her alight, and her troth plight,
And *aroynt* thee witch, *aroynt* thee."
Lear, act iii, sc. 3.

Surely all this forms an aggregate of difficulties, which if multiplied by the whole number of lines in the poems in which similar difficulties occur, must induce us at least to hesitate before we adopt the generally received opinion.

But I beg pardon, I am adducing arguments affecting the claim of Chatterton, in a part of this enquiry, intended chiefly for an appreciation of the critical and editorial attention of the late Messrs. Warton and Tyrwhitt.

The first of whom has given us a striking instance of negligence in his answer to Dr. Milles, Mr. Bryant, &c. see page 61; where he calls the tragedy of Ella, a *Danish*

story; and speaks of "the *Danish* leader, Ella," and tells us that the *Danish* soldiers say to Ella,

"Onne, Ælla, onn, we long for bloodie fraye," &c.

Which may be regarded as additional proofs, either that Mr. Warton never read the poems, or that he must have read them very carelessly; for Ella and his soldiers were all Anglo-Saxons. They almost warrant a conjecture that Mr. Warton lent his name to some other writer or writers more earnest than himself in beating down the credit and reputation of the Poems.

The negligence of Mr. Tyrwhitt was equally great, when he produced as a proof of the forgery of Rowley's Poems, his three lists of words and phrases, viz.

First, those not used by any other writer.

Secondly, words used by other writers, but in a different sense:

Lastly, words inflected contrary to grammar and custom; for had he with common attention applied his own great experience, to a similar examination of Chaucer, Gower, Hoccleve, Lydgate, or any other writer, either in verse or prose, of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, he would have found it equally easy to produce a similar list:

nay, he might have done the same, had he brought his examination down as low as the era of Shakespeare, Massinger, Beaumont and Fletcher, or Ben Jonson. If Rowley's Poems had not afforded such lists of *unusual* words and phrases, they might with much greater propriety have been arraigned as spurious on that account.

I have similar lists ready to be produced from Chapman's Homer, Phaer's Virgil, Robinson's Rewarde of Wickednesse, and several others, which are suppressed, as they would increase the bulk and price of this publication: but any person equally idle, may very easily collect the same from any work prior to the age of Shakspeare.

In concluding these Introductory Remarks, I do not presume to dictate an opinion to my readers; nor do I wish to be understood to have finally delivered my own; for much difficulty is yet to be removed; and there is yet much to say respecting the defective interpretations of Chatterton, Milles, Bryant, Warton, and Tyrwhitt. The anachronisms and historical allusions will require notice; and a very full discussion of the subject of literary imitation, as far as it affects the disputed question of the authenticity or spuriousness of these poems, will also be necessary; comprehending in the whole a numerous list

of illustrations; or, what I hope may be deemed illustrations of obscure and disputed passages in the Works of Shakspeare, and other more ancient writers.

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